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A Perspective on the Sanskrit Language & Literature

Prof. Vasantkumar M. Bhatt

संस्कृत-साहित्य-अकादमी
संस्कृत साहित्य अकादमी
गांधीनगर

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शुक्लां ब्रह्मविचारसारपरमामाद्यां जगद्व्यापिनीं
वीणापुस्तकधारिणीमभयदां जाड्यान्धकारापहाम् ।
हस्ते स्फाटिकमालिकां च दधतीं पद्मासने संस्थितां
वन्दे तां परमेश्वरीं भगवतीं बुद्धिप्रदां शारदाम् ॥

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A Perspective on the Sanskrit Language & Literature

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Chairman's Message

It gives me immense pleasure to introduce this insightful work, "A Perspective on the Sanskrit Language & Literature," by the esteemed scholar, Vasantkumar M. Bhatt. This book delves deep into the intricacies of the Sanskrit language and literature, offering fresh perspectives on timeless topics.

Sanskrit, the language of the gods, has been a beacon of knowledge and culture for millennia. Its rich literary tradition and profound philosophical insights continue to inspire and captivate minds worldwide. Bhatt's work offers a contemporary lens through which to examine these ancient texts and ideas.

The exploration of the relationship between a word and its meaning, the nuances of pragmatics, and the structural elegance of Sanskrit sentences are particularly noteworthy contributions. By unravelling these complex linguistic and literary concepts, Bhatt sheds light on the enduring relevance of Sanskrit in the modern world.

I am confident that this book will be of great interest to scholars, students, and anyone who appreciates the beauty and depth of the Sanskrit language and literature. It is a valuable addition to the growing body of work on this subject.

I congratulate the author on this significant achievement and wish all the best for all future endeavours.

Dr. Bhagyesh Jha
Director
Sanskrit Sahitya Academy

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Publisher's Note

The Gujarat Sahitya Akadami is privileged to present "A Perspective on the Sanskrit Language & Literature" by Dr. Vasantkumar M. Bhatt, a work that bridges classical Sanskrit scholarship with contemporary linguistic analysis.

As the custodian of literary endeavours in Gujarat, the Akadami has consistently supported research that enhances our understanding of classical texts and languages. Dr. Bhatt's comprehensive work exemplifies such scholarly excellence, offering fresh perspectives on fundamental aspects of Sanskrit linguistics and literature.

The book's scope is remarkable – from examining the intricate shabdartha relationship to analysing the pragmatic aspects of Sanskrit usage. The exploration of sentence structure demonstrates the language's architectural beauty, while the study of audience influence on Bana Bhatta's Harsacaritam brings new insights to classical Sanskrit prose. The critical examination of Kalidasa's Abhijnana Sakuntalam showcases the challenges and methodologies in modern Sanskrit book criticism.

We are confident that this book will serve as a valuable reference for academic institutions, researchers, and libraries across India and abroad. The Academy extends its gratitude to all who have contributed to bringing this scholarly work to completion.

Dr. Jayendrasinh Jadav
Member Secretary
Sanskrit Sahitya Academy

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Preface

It is a moment of great pleasure for me to place my book, titled ***"A Perspective on the Sanskrit Language and Literature"*** in the hands of learned scholars of Sanskrit. It is a collection of my selected research articles, written during last four decades. I hope that it will be helpful to the scholars of new era in getting special insights on various topics of Sanskrit language and literature. Here, I have given eleven research articles covering two different aspects of Sanskrit studies, i.e. language and literature. Yaska's unique or rather unequal method of analyzing words is very known among Sanskrit scholars. But it is not easy for everybody to grasp the proper depiction of Yaska about the relationship between a word and it's meaning. In the same way everyone knows about the Absolute locative, e.g. *Sati Saptami vibhakti,* but nobody thinks about its pragmatics. Traditional grammar teaches about the structure of an absolute locative, but what should be the real situation for it's usage is not said explicitly in the text. In fourth and fifth chapters, I have explained about the structuring of sentences of Sanskrit language. Here also a reader will find my way of looking at the topic, viz. one should see the structure of a Sanskrit sentence syntactically and semantically also. In sixth chapter, I have tried to point the hidden meaning of the vedic word, *Vritrahaa,* with the help of Panini's aphorism. Usually, most of the students of Paniniyan system of grammar are ignorant about the non-Paniniyan systems. So, I have presented a comparative study of Panini's grammar and Hemachandra's grammar in seventh chapter to highlight their unique features. In 8th chapter, reader will come to know how Bana Bhatta was influenced by his listeners, who were grammarians ! Or

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rather , how creativity of the poet, which was highly influenced by Paniniyan grammar. Thus, while reading first eight chapters, I am sure the reader will find something new regarding the Sanskrit language and literature.

In the last three chapters, I have discussed in great details about the problems of the transmitted text of the Abhijnanashakuntalam and my through investigation of the journey of the text of this greatest drama. I have given a survey of researches starting from Sir willam Jones (1789 A. D.), to my own researches (2020 A.D). It covers various efforts of great scholars, who were engaged in the textual criticism of this drama during last 230 years.

I hope that these eleven chapters on the fresh researches of the Sanskrit language and literature will present a "perspective" of my own, which is different than others. I will be happy to receive learned comments on my book.

My thanks are also due to the authorities of the Gujarat Sanskrit Sahity Academy, Gandhinagar to accept my proposal to publish this book. Dr. Bhagyesh Jha, Chairman of the academy and the Registrar, Prof. Jayendrasinh Jadav deserve a special mentioning for their kind co-operation in the publication. Last but not the least, I convey my high regards to my family members for their best wishes in my Sanskrit studies.

Vasantkumar M. Bhatt

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1.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN A WORD AND ITS MEANING

The relationship of the word and the meaning is one of the most crucial issues for the students of language. Of the three significant approaches, the grammarians[1] and the Mimāṁsakas[2] tend to treat the relationship as anādi, eternal, one without beginning, that is that which has some beginning which cannot be known, or that which has no beginning.[3] The logicians (Naiyāyikas) think the relationship to be divine.[4] In either case, the relationship is treated to be a priori. Of these ancient and modern thinkers who think the relationship to be resolvable and comprehensible through discussion, Yāska comes first. Even Pāṇini takes the relationship for granted, and bases his analysis on some permanent, non-analysable relationship between the word and the meaning.[5] For him, thus, the meaning is the in-put for analysis.[6] For Yāska, the relationship itself becomes a problem for investigation, and the result of the investigation, that is, the derived as against the assumed relationship of the word and the meaning, becomes the out-put.

The popular belief is that Yāska's processing is derivative and directed to the determining of the meanings of the Vedic words. Yāska himself has shown this to be the aim of the study of the Nirukta :

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> "Moreover, without it (viz., the study of the *Nirukta*) the precise meaning of Vedic stanzas cannot be understood. For one who does not understand the meaning, a thorough investigation of accent and grammatical form is not possible."[7]

This however does not really seem to be the case. This is how Yāska derives the meaning of the word *"puruṣaḥ": puruṣaḥ is puri-ṣāda:* (one who sits in a city); or puruṣa is puri-śayaḥ (one who sleeps in a city); or it has come from the action, which is denoted by the root pṛ (to fill), i.e. he fills the interior, with reference to the innner soul.[8] Here, the last meaning of the word is known from the *Śvetāśvatara-upaniṣad* (iii. 9). Yāska himself quotes the Upaniṣad as under :

> "This entire (Universe) is filled by that inner soul, to them there is nothing anterior, nothing subsequent, than whom there is nothing more minute, nor more great, and immovable like a tree, who alone lives in heaven."[9]

This shows that at least one meaning, the last one of the word *puruṣaḥ* was present before Yāska, before the analysis, and that the analysis, at least in that case, is a mere exercise in rationalising.

Not only this, Yāska takes especial pains to create an effect that the meaning he derives.is also to be found in the Vedas. Very often, after such exercises in rationalisation, he finds additional support from the Vedas ! *ityapi nigamo bhavati* (to support a *nirvacana,* there is a statement too in the Vedas);[10] *iti vijnāyate* (this *niravacana* is known from a *Brāhmaṇa* book),[11] or *iti ca Brāhmaṇam* (there is a *nirvacana* like this in the *Brāhmaṇa-book*)[12] and so on.

What Yāska seems to be doing is following a sort of systematic theory of derivation for determining the meaning of

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a word, and that he tests with reference to an already known meaning of the word.

This can be further confirmed by a reference to his enunciation of the principles of derivation in *Nirukta* (II.1). He has categorically said that a student must always have before him the meaning of a particular word before instituting the process of derivation:-

(i) One should always examine them (words) with regard to their meaning...[13]

(ii) One should interpret inflected cases according to the meaning...[14]

(iii) One should not explain isolated words...[15]

(iv) (The rule is that) they (= words) should be explained according to their meaning : if their meanings are uniform, their *nirvacanas* are uniform; if their meanings are multiform; their *nirvacanas* are multiform.[16]

It can now be safely observed that, contrary to popular belief, Yāska was not really interested in determining through derivations the meanings of words. I believe that Yāska's efforts were directed towards explaining the relationship between a word and its meaning.

Yāska has, before him, a new theory to support. Śākaṭāyana had propounded a theory viz. *sarvāṇi nāmāni ākhyātajāni* (all words stem from action). Śākaṭāyana wants to suggest that the relationship or the bridge between the words and their meanings is based on some action. In other words, the bridge is *kriyāniṣṭha*. We do not know the point of beginning of a speech-act, but we can guess that there was some action in

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the beginning. This action, on the one hand, is connected with the word, and, on the other hand, with the meaning. To clarify this, we should consider the nature of action as a whole.

An action is called bhāva in Sanskrit. Any action has two dimensions to it : One is *Sāddhyāvasthāpanna-bhāva* (action in process), and the other, *Siddhāvasthapannā-bhāva* (processed action). The action in process *(Sāddhyāvasthāpanna-bhāva)*, it seems, is to be denoted by some sound arbitrarily, and, the processed action *(Siddhāvasthāpanna-bhāva)*, let us say, is the meaning. Before Yāska, the relationship between the two was left unexplored, under the plea of something unexplorable. (See: *Anādi* and *Iśvarecchā* theories of grammarians and logicians respectively.) I feel however, that, Yāska's processing of the meaning from a word and tallying the derived meaning with the known meaning seeks to underline this unexplored / unexplorable relationship, that Yāska wants us not to forget that between the beginning of a process and the end of the process lies the action, that the relationship between the word and its meaning is to be understood in terms of action.

For Yāska, it must be concluded, the be-all and end-all of the entire process of derivation and testing and tallying of the words and the meaning is his conviction, *Sārvaṇi nāmāni ākhyātajāni,* that all words stem from action. It is natural therefore that he should strive to establish the significance of action while relating a word to its meaning.

FOOT NOTES :

1 (a) Kātyāyana says : सिद्धे शब्दार्थसम्बन्धे ॥ (आ०१.वा.१)
Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya (Ed. Kielhorn, I. 6. 16)

(b) Bhartṛhari says :

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नित्याः शब्दार्थसम्बन्धाः समाम्नाता महर्षिभिः ।
सूत्राणां सानुतन्त्राणां भाष्याणाञ्च प्रणेतृभिः ॥ Vākyapadiyam (I.23)

2. Kumārila Bhaṭṭa (600 A.D.) says :

स्थिते कूटस्थनित्यत्वे व्यवहारस्य नित्यता ।
कूटस्थेन विनैतेन न तस्यालम्बनं भवेत् ॥
प्रसिद्धत्वादृते सर्वो व्यवहारो हि नेष्यते ।
तस्माद् वेदप्रमाणार्थम् नित्यत्वमिह साध्यते ॥

— Ślokavārttika , Śabdanityatādhikaraṇam (6. 6,7)

३. अनादिः means न ज्ञायते आदिः यस्य सः । and / or न विद्यते आदिः यस्य सः ।

४. Viśvanātha Pañcānana Bhaṭṭācārya says;

शक्तिश्च पदेन सह पदार्थस्य सम्बन्धः, सा चास्मात् पदादयमर्थो बोद्धव्य इतीश्वरेच्छारूपा ।

Nyāyasiddhāntmuktāvali, Śabdakhaṇḍa (4), p.293.

5. See footnote 1.

6. See; "The Role of Meaning in Pāṇini's Grammar " by Johannes Bronkhorst, Indian Lingustics (40.3), Sept.1979, pp.146-157.

७. अथापीदमन्तरेण मन्त्रेष्वर्थप्रत्ययो न विद्यते । अर्थमप्रतियतो नात्यन्तं स्वरसंस्कारोद्देशः ॥ Nirukta (I.15)

८. पुरुषः पुरिषादः । पुरि शयः । पूरयतेर्वा । पूरयत्यन्तरित्यन्तरपुरुषमभिप्रेत्य । - Nirukta (II.3)

९. यस्मात्परं नापरमस्ति किंचिद् यस्मान्नाणीयो न ज्यायोऽस्ति कश्चित् ।

वृक्ष इव स्तब्धो दिवि तिष्ठत्येकस्तेनेदं पूर्णं पुरुषेण सर्वम् ॥ इत्यपि निगमो भवति । — Nirukta II, 3

10. See footnote 9.

11. ऋषिर्दर्शनात् । स्तोमान्ददर्शेत्यौपमन्यवः ।
'तद्यदेतांस्तपस्यमानान् ब्रह्म स्वयंभ्वभ्यानर्षत् । तद्ऋषयोऽभवन् । तदृषीणामृषित्वम्' इति विज्ञायते । - Nirukta (II. 11)

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12. अथात आप्रियः। आप्रियः कस्मात्। आप्नोतेः। प्रीणातेर्वा। 'आप्रीभिराप्रीणाति'। इति च ब्राह्मणम्। — Nirukta (VIII. 4)

13. ....अर्थनित्यः परीक्षेत। -- Nirukta (II.1)

14. यथार्थम् विभक्तीः सन्नमयेत्। -- Nirukta (II.1)

15. नैकपदानि निर्ब्रूयात्। -- Nirukta (II. 3)

16. तानि चेत् समानकर्माणि समाननिर्वचनानि। नानाकर्माणि चेन्नाना निर्वचनानि। यथार्थम् निर्वक्तव्यानि। - - Nirukta (II. 7.)

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2.

PRAGMATICS OF ABSOLUTE LOCATIVE IN SANSKRIT*

Modern experts of linguistics have suggested that the sentence-meaning is covered up in the meaning of an utterance, but the case is not vice-versa. It is so because in the sentence-meaning only the lexical and grammatical meanings of the stem and its case-terminations which form the parts of a word are recorded. On the other hand, in the meaning of an utterance, over and above the sentence-meaning, the whole contextual sense in which a sentence is spoken, and the time and place wherein the sentence is uttered between a speaker and a hearer, all this is covered up. So, one and the same sentence has a special meaning with reference to its context. Though the boundaries of semantics may be ending with the analysis of sentence-sense only, a speaker has to analyse the whole context of a given speech if he wants to arrive at the inner beauty of an effective use of language,[1] i.e. he has to resort to what we may call pragmatics.

One and the same sentence yields one meaning in a given context, but, in another context, it can give some other special sense also. Or, we may say that with the help of lexicon and grammar we can arrive at a given limited sense of a sentence,but the boundaries of its meaning may extend with reference to the examination of fuller context, i.e., earlier and later context.

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In the present article an attempt is made to analyse the utterances of locative absolute, and we will try to suggest how words ending in locative absolute tend to give newer meanings over and above the grammatical one.

2.

Pāṇini has enjoined bhāva-lakṣaṇā saptami by the rule यस्य च भावेन भाव-लक्षणम् । 2-3-37 in the Aṣṭādhyāyī. It is suggested that, when by the activity of a given agent or an object, some other activity is shown, then in that case the activity and its agent or an object gets locative termination, e.g., in गोषु दुह्यमानासु, गतः देवदत्तः । "When cows were milked, Devadatta left the place." Thus, Devadatta's activity of going is shown through the activity of cows being milked. In this instance, going of Devadatta is lakṣya, i.e., an object of information and गोदोहन activity of milking is क्रियाकाल - *lakṣaka*, i.e., indicator of the time of a particular activity. Thus by the activity i.e., indicator, another activity viz. Devadatta's going is indicated. Therefore, locative absolute is used with the कृदन्त participle, viz. दुह्यमान - the term ending in कृत् affix e.g., गोषु दुह्यमानासु, देवदत्तः गतः । Here the time of Devadatta's going is indicated by the activity of milking the cow. Here Devadatta's going is the object of indication, i.e., *lakṣya*, and the time of milking is *lakṣaka* or indicator. The activity in form of indicator, i.e., milking, indicates the other activity, viz. Devadatta's going, which is a separate activity and is *lakṣya*. Therefore, the कृत् - ending word 'दुह्यमान' is given locative absolute and it is only therefore that the object of this milking activity is also placed in the locative. Thus we arrive at the expression, viz. गोषु दुह्यमानासु, देवदत्तः गतः । In short the hearer in this case does not know when Devadatta has left. To indicate the unknown time of Devadatta's going, a finger is pointed to

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another activity whose normal timing is known to listener.[2] Thus, Devadatta left when cows were being milked. Thus by die use of locative absolute the sequence of two activities i.e., their temporal situation, is indicated.[3]

3

In the rule षष्ठी चानादरे । 2-3-38 Pāṇini suggests that, when another unknown activity is indicated by a given known activity, then in that case through pragmatic context, if an added meaning of disrespect is also suggested, then, over and above the sixth case-termination, locative absolute is also used.

E.g. रुदति/रुदतः वा पुत्रे / पुत्रस्य देवदत्तः प्राव्राजीत् । i.e. even though the son was weeping, Devadatta took to samnyāsa or renunciation. Here the time of Devadatta's renunciation is unknown. To indicate it, the known activity of his son's weeping and the doer of that activity, viz. the son, receive a case-termination, viz. locative absolute, to suggest disrespect of Devadatta towards his son's feelings, or Devadatta's attitude of scorn or detachment. Here, the mention of son's weeping as a pragmatic context is the only source which gives the further meaning. But, if here it is also stated that उदिते सूर्ये देवदत्तः प्राव्राजीत् । then it would have resulted only in a simple grammatical meaning of *lakṣya-lakṣaṇa*, and in that the time factor only would have been suggested (and not the meaning of disrespect or scorn or detachment.)

In the same way, in the sentence, पश्यत्सु पाण्डुपुत्रेषु द्रौपद्याः वस्त्राण्यपहृतानि । if we were to change it to सूर्येऽस्तंगते द्रौपद्याः वस्त्राण्यपहृतानि ।, then the time - context only would have been resulted as suggestion. The sense of disrespect is caused only by the usage viz. पश्यत्सु पाण्डुपुत्रेषु द्रौपद्याः वस्त्राण्यपहृतानि । which is a special pragmatic usage.

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4.

Pāṇini has taken note of only the above two meanings with reference to locative absolute. But in certain cases, the terms having locative absolute suggest a relation of cause-effect also. Thus the relation of causality is also suggested at times. Thus, for example, when Daśaratha's plea, of dropping Rāma's banishment to the forest after Bharata's coronation to the throne, was also rejected by Kaikeyī for she wanted both the things. In this pragmatic context, if it was stated, that रामे वनं गते, दशरथः प्राणान् तत्याज । then the relation of causality between two activities of Rāma's going to forest and Daśaratha's dying is also suggested. Daśaratha's death is caused as a result of Rāma's going to the forest. If we overlook the pragmatic context, then only the sequence of these two activities will come to light. But if the pragmatic context is taken into account then the relation of causality also will flash upon our mind.

If the pragmatic context here is given the shape of वसिष्ठे वनं गते सति, दशरथः प्राणान् तत्याज । then also only the sequence of two activities can be suggested, and not the relation of causality.

Similarly, in instances such as उदिते सूर्ये तमो नष्टम् । उदिते चन्द्रमसि समुद्रः प्रवृद्धः । पौरवे शासति वसुमतीं कः शकुन्तलायाम् अविनयमाचरति । मुक्तेषु रश्मिषु निरायतपूर्वकाया, धावन्त्यमी मृगजवाक्षमयेव रथ्याः ।, over and above sequence, the causal relationship between two activities is also suggested.

5

At times, over and above the relation of indicator and indicated, the pragmatic context reveals, that two activities are directed in opposite direction. E.g.

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रात्रिर्गमिष्यति भविष्यति सुप्रभातम्
भास्वान् उदेष्यति हसिष्यति पङ्कजश्रीः ।
इत्थं विचिन्तयति कोशगते द्विरेफे
हा हन्त हन्त नलिनीं गज उज्जहार ॥

Here, there is hope in the bee's heart, but the lotus plant is uprooted by the elephant putting an end to the hope. There is no doubt of simultaneity of two activities, but the contradiction is also suggested through pragmatic context. Here also locative absolute is used, and this is noted by the Vārttika-kāra : अर्हणां कर्तृत्वे, अनर्हाणाम् अकर्तृत्वे, तद्वैपरीत्ये च । (२-३-३७ इत्यत्र वार्तिकम्)[४] Mahābhāṣyakāra Patañjali has given this illustration, viz; ऋद्धेषु भुञ्जानेषु दरिद्रा आसते । वृषलेषु आसीनेषु ब्राह्मणास्तरन्ति ।[५] Here also pragmatic context reveals the opposition or contradiction between two given activities.

Conclusion :

In the case of usages of locative absolute, first the simulataneity or sequence of two given activities is suggested. But, in a given pragmatic context, disrespect towards the doer of known activity , or relation of causality between two activities, or at times opposition also is suggested as a special added meaning. Pāṇini has taken note of the first grammatical meaning (2-3-37) and has also suggested in 2-3-38 the added meaning of disrespect through pragmatic context. But he has not noted the special case of relation of causality . Of course such special meanings go beyond the realm or limits of pure grammar, and they are not included in sentence-meaning, but they find place in utterance -meaning. So they fall in the province not of semantics proper, but in the scope of the science of pragmatics.

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Foot Note :

* The paper presented at the 39th session of the All-India Oriental Conference (13-15 Oct. 1998), Vadodara.

1. The meaning of an utterance includes, the meaning of the sentence that is uttered. The rest of the meaning is contributed by a variety of factors that may be referred to, loosely, as contextual. Many scholars would say that utterance-meaning falls outside the province of linguistic semantics, as such and within that of what has come to be called pragmatics. - Language and Linguistics by Join Lyons, Cambridge University Press, (1981), p. 140.

२. निर्ज्ञातकाला क्रिया अनिर्ज्ञाताया क्रियायाः सकृदपि कालपरिच्छेदहेतुत्वेनोपात्ता भवत्येव लक्षणमिति । काशिकावृत्तिः २-३-३७ इत्यत्र पदमञ्जरी । Ed. द्वारिकादासः शास्त्री (प्रका. प्राच्यभारती प्रकाशन, वाराणसी) १९६५ (भाग-२),p.196.

३. Another example: आसीने च सराजके परिजने शिष्यजने च, समुचितम् अर्घ्यादिकं (भैरवाचार्यः) चक्रे - हर्षचरित (तृतीय उच्छ्वास)

४. ६३४ यस्य च भावेन भावलक्षणम् । २-३-३७ इत्यत्र वैयाकरणसिद्धान्तकौमुदी, N.S.P., Bombay, 1929, 6th ed., p.157

5. व्याकरणमहाभाष्यम् (vol. I), ed. Kielhorn, B.O.R.I., Pune, 1962, p.458.

* Published in the Annals of the BORI, Vol. 81 (2000), pp. 279-282.

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3.

ŚĀKAṬĀYANA - A FORGOTTEN GRAMMARIAN*

1.

Maharṣi Pāniṇi has mentioned by name ten grammarians who were his predecessors.[1] Among these, Śākaṭāyana deserves special notice, because the Kāśikākāra, in his expression, viz. *Anuśākaṭāyanaṁ vaiyākaraṇāḥ,* praises Śākaṭāyana and holds all other grammarians as inferior to him. (Vide his Vṛtti on P. S.1-4-46.)

2

The three aphorisms in Pāṇini mentioning views of Śākaṭāyana are as below :

1. *Laṅaḥ Śākaṭāyanasyaiva* // P.S.3-4-11
2. *Vyor Laghu-prayatnataraḥ Śākaṭāyanasya*//P.S.8-3-18
3. *Triprabhṛtiṣu Śākaṭāyanasya*//P.S.8-4-50

Over and above this, Yāska in his Nirukta[2] observes: "Śākaṭāyana held that (all) nouns are root-born. (Similar is) the tradition among etymologists too." But, unfortunately, we do not come across a single work, even in fragments, authored by Śākaṭāyana in the field of either Niruktu or Vyākaraṇa. Suryakanta Sastri has established Śākaṭāyana as the author of

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the Ṛk-tantra Prātiśākhya of the Sāmaveda.[3] Pandit Yudhishthir Mimamsak also, over and above this, has credited Śākaṭāyana with the authorship of (i) Daivatagrantha, (ii) Nirukta, (iii) Kośa, (iv) Laghu-ṛktantra, (v) Sāmatantra and (vi) Pañca-pādi Uṇādi Sūtra.[4]

3

Yāska, though himself a student of the etymological tradition, had installed Śākaṭāyana, the promulgator of the principle that nouns are root-born, as his preceptor. On the other hand, Pāṇini, though himself an avowed grammarian, had given that honour to Gārgya, perhaps being both an etymologist and a grammarian[5] ! The result was obvious, that Śākaṭāyana was forgotten from the tradition of the grammarians. To-day we do not have a single work written by him, available to us. But, as observed earlier, his importance as a grammarian was uncommonly high and there is the famous expression in relation to him as quoted at the beginning.

The basic difference in the theory of Śākaṭāyana and Pāṇini was this that (i) Śākaṭāyana held all nouns used in a language as root-born, while Pāṇini, alike Gārgya, perhaps did not accept this in the case of all nouns.[6] So Pāṇini has talked of accepting some conventional words as they are, e.g. Pṛṣodarādīni yathopadiṣṭam (P.S.6-3-109). The difference in the style of these two experts is also noteworthy. For example, Śākaṭāyana gave *'nirvacana'* (= *niḥśeṣeṇa vacanam*), i.e. total explanation, of words. So, while explaining a word, along with mentioning the root suggesting the action underlying, Śākaṭāyana also attempted to explain all objects expressed by that particular word, with reference to various roots or verbs. On the other hand, Pāṇini attempted *'Vyutpatti'* (= *Viśeṣeṇa utpattiḥ*), or grammatical origin, in which after the coming together of the base and its suffix;

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Pāṇini explained the phonetic changes also, and establishes the usefulness of a *tiṅanta-pada* or a *subanta-pada* as part of a sentence, i.e. as a sentence-unit. Thus one is a grammarian who favours an analytical approach, while the other favours synthetic approach.

4

In his zest to explain analytically, Śākaṭāyana at times derives a given word from different roots at a time, which act of his has been an object of adverse criticism also. Yāska notes in the Nirukta:-

Athānanvite 'rthe' prādeśike vikāre padebhyaḥ padetarārdhān saṁcaskāra Śākaṭāyanaḥ. Eteḥ kāritaṁ ca yakārādiṁ cāntakaraṇam asteḥ śuddham ca sakarādiṁ ca.[7] *(Nirukta 1-13).*

This means that when the meaning does not seem to be related to (the form of) a word, and when no change due to action is noticed in that word, authorities of the eminence of Śākaṭāyana derive a single noun from more than one root, e. g. satyam'. To derive this word Śākaṭāyana resorts to the causal form - 'āyayati' of the root √ iṇ gatau, and places 'ya' at the end of the word, and the element beginning with the consonant 's' is placed in the front, after deriving the same from the simple form of the root as bhuvi. Thus Śākaṭāyana places *'sat'* before *'ya'* and forms *'satya'* (*santam artham āyayati pratyāyayati = gamayati*).

Thus, it is clear that Śākaṭāyana was not prepared to accept the fourth class of words, viz. *"yādṛcchika"* in the fold of language. Pāṇini, on the other hand, attempted to explain etymologically only such words which looked possible to be derived and explained the existence of conventional or *yādṛcchika* words also. As this balanced approach was lacking in Śākaṭāyana's approach, Śākaṭāyana was not honoured in Pāṇini's tradition. On the contrary

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he became an object of ridicule. Pāṇini has enumerated the word *'śakaṭa'* in the naḍādi-gaṇa. Some (unidentified) Vārttikakāra has written a *Ślokavārttika* with reference to this, on the Sūtra : *Uṇādayo bahulam* (P.S.3-3-1); viz.

nāma ca dhātujam āha Nirukte |
Vyākaraṇe Śakaṭasya ca tokam || 8

i.e. In (the *vedāṅga* called) Nirukta all nouns are said to be root-born, while (even) in the *Vyākaraṇa (vedāṅga)* the child of *Śakaṭa* (=cart) holds this view". Here the Vārttikakāra has tried to derive the *Yādṛcchika* word, viz. *Śākaṭāyana*, following Śākaṭāyana's dictates, perhaps in a jocular vein.

5

With refefence to the *Uṇādi* aphorisms (P.S.3-3-1*), as Kātyāyana has mentioned Śākaṭāyana's name in a lighter vein, similarly, Patañjali at one place in the Mahābhāṣya, has referred to Śākaṭāyana as a subject of laughter. But, unfortunately the reference in a jocular vein by Patañjali has not been noticed in its right context by some eminent modern scholars. E.g. in the commentary on P. S. 3-2-115 *parokṣe lit*, Patañjali says that perfect past cannot be used with reference to *uttama-puruṣa*, i.e. first person, and goes on to observe :

सर्वथोत्तमो न सिध्यति । सुप्तमत्तयोरुत्तमः । सुप्तमत्तयोरुत्तम इति वक्तव्यम् । सुप्तोऽहं किल विललाप । मत्तोऽहं किल विललाप । सुप्तो न्वहं किल विललाप । मत्तो न्वहं किल विललाप ॥ अथवा भवति वै कश्चिज्जाग्रदपि वर्तमानं कालं नोपलभते । तद्यथा – वैयाकरणानां शाकटायनो रथमार्ग आसीनः शकटसार्थम् यान्तं नोपलेभे ॥ (३-२-११५ इत्यत्र महाभाष्यम्)७

Here Patañjali has explained that the use of perfect past tense is possible even with reference to the first person, when he is either asleep or is turned mad. He gives illustrations such

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as *"Supto' ham kila vilalāpa"* and in this context attempts the derivation of the proper name 'Śākaṭāyana' in the fashion or style of Śākaṭāyana himself, and imagines an incident.

Thus, he imagines that perhaps the name 'Śākaṭāyana' was coined, because, one fine morning by road-side, Śākaṭāyana was engrossed in high thinking and blissfully innocent of the caravan of carts apprbaching him from the opposite side. Thus from the word *"śakaṭasārtha"* Patañjali took up *'śakaṭa,* and with *'ya'* from *"yāntam"* and *'na'* from *"nopalebhe,"* and formed the word *'Śākaṭāyana'* by mixing up these three parts !

Thus Patañjali while explaining the use of perfect past tense even in the case of first person, imagines an incident lying hidden in the name of Śākaṭāyana. This act of imaging an incident from the name Śākaṭāyana, provokes laughter and perhaps there is an adverse comment on the style of derivation resorted to by Śākaṭāyana himself. The criticism from Patañjali should be clear to all of us.

6.

But unfortunately, Patañjali's scathing remark left on Śākaṭāyana's style of derivation in deriving the name 'Śākaṭāyana' as *"Śākaṭasārthaṁ yāntaṁ nopalebhe'*, goes unnoticed, especially the bite in the remark goes unnoticed even by the great earlier commentators such as Kaiyaṭa,[10] and Nāgeśa[11] On top of it, modern scholars of the eminence of Pandit Yudhishthir Mimamsak, Prof. K. V. Abhyankar and Dr. Prabhu Dayal Agnihotri have also missed the mark while talking about the passage from the Mahābhāṣya quoted above. They have failed to collect the sense of ridicule with which' Śākaṭāyana is held by Patañjali. They have taken this incident either only as an historical event, or as Śākaṭāyana's deep thinking of Śāstra *"gāḍha śāstrī ya vicāra-magnatā"* (vide shortly

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below) - or the sociological referenee pertaining to trade and commerce obtained in those days. We will read from them directly as below:

(i) Pandit Yudhishthir Mirnamsak observes :- जीवन की विशिष्ट घटना – शाकटायन के जीवन की एक घटना महाभाष्य ३-२-११५ में इस प्रकार लिखी है – "जागता हुआ भी कोई पुरुष वर्तमान काल को नहीं ग्रहण करता। जैसे रथमार्ग पर बैठे हुए वैयाकरणों में श्रेष्ठ शाकटायन ने सडक पर जाते हुए गाडियों के समूह को नहीं देखा।

महाभाष्य में इस घटना का उल्लेख होने से प्रतीत होता है कि शाकटायन के जीवन की यह कोई महत्त्वपूर्ण लोकपरिज्ञात घटना है। अन्यथा इसका उदाहरण रूप से उल्लेख न होता।[१२]

(ii) Prof. K. V. Abhyankar writes :- वरील दन्तकथेंत काही तथ्य असलें तर त्यावरुन शाकटायनाचा वेंधळेपणा नव्हे, त्याची गाढ शास्त्रीय विचारमग्नता ध्यानांत येईल.[१३]

(iii) Dr.Prabhu Dayal Agnihotri, in his Patañjali-kālīn Bhārat has no doubt observed that grammarians of the Pāṇinīyan school have poked fun at Śākaṭāyana,[14] but has failed to read in between the lines the crude joke cut at Śākaṭāyana in the derivation of his name as *'Śākaṭasārtham yāntam nopalebhe"*, in which the nams of Śākaṭāyana is itself split in parts after his own style. At other place, he has also tried to read a reference to the trade and commerce available in the then Society.[15]

But we firmly hold that the suggestion and the covered ridicule which is contained in this reference as pointed out by us is the real purport of Patañjali's passage.

Thus, though Śākaṭāyana attained fame and was taken as a preceptor of the Nairuktas in some age, he did not achieve an honourable place among grammarians of Pāṇini's tradition. None

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of his works was also preserved by tradition. Even grammarians of the stature of Kātyāyana and Patañjali also remember him as an object of ridicule, and thus, among the Vaiyākaraṇa fraternity, he has been an eternal but "forgotten grammarian"

Foot Note :

* The paper was read at the 38th; Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, Jadavpur. University, Calcutta., 28-30 Jan. 1997.

1. Āpiśali (Pāṇini-Sūtra 6-1-92), Kāśyapa (P.S.1-2-25) Gārgya (P.S.8-3-20), Gālava (P.S.6-3-61), Cākravarmaṇa(P.S 6-1-130). Bhāradvāja (P.S.7-2-63), Śākaṭāyana (P.S.3-4-111, 8-3-18, 8-4-50), Śākalya (P.S.1-1-16), Senaka(P.S. 5-4-112) and Sphoṭāyana (P.S.6-1-123.).See; Aṣṭādhyāyī.

2. नामान्याख्यातजानीति शाकटायनो नैरुक्तसमयश्च । – निरुक्तम् (गुरुमण्डल ग्रन्थमाला – १०, द्वितीयो भागः, संपा. मनसुखराम मोर, कलकत्ता, १९५२), पृ.७६

3. See: Ṛktantram; Critically edited by Suryakanta Shastri (Mehar Chand Lachhman Das, Lahoer, 1933), pp.39-43.

4 See: संस्कृत व्याकरणशास्त्र का इतिहास (प्रथम भाग), ले. युधिष्ठिर मीमांसक (रामलाल कपूर ट्रस्ट, सोनीपत, हरियाणा, वि. सं. २०४१ = १९४८ ए.डी.) पृ १४१–१४३

5 See P. S. 7-3-99 (अङ् गार्ग्यगालवयोः), 8-3-20 (ओतो गार्ग्यस्य), 8-4-67 (नोदात्त स्वरितोदयम् अगार्ग्यकाश्यपगालवानाम्). This, my personal conjecture, is inspired by the following remark of Pt.Y. Mimamsak (op. cit.), p. 147: "यद्यपि नैरुक्त गार्ग्य और वैयाकरण गार्ग्य की एकता में निश्चायक प्रमाण उपलब्ध नहीं, तथापि हमारा विचार है कि दोनों एक ही है ॥"

६. नामान्याख्यातजानीति शाकटायनो नैरुक्तसमयश्च ।
न सर्वाणीति गार्ग्यः वैयाकरणानां चैके। – निरुक्तम् op. cit. (अध्याय १), पृ.76.

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7. 'See: निरुक्तम्. See: op.oit (अ.१), पृ.82.'

8. See: व्याकरणमहाभाष्यम् द्वितीयो भागः प्रदीपोद्योतसहितम् (मोतीलाल बनारसीदास, दिल्ही, 1967), p. 204.

9. See ; व्याकरणमहाभाष्यम्, op. cit, p. 179.

१०. विषयान्तरेणाकृष्टत्वान्मदाद्यभिभवाद्वेति भावः । – व्याकरणमहाभाष्ये (op. cit)3-2-115 इत्यत्र प्रदीपः, P.179

११. जागरेऽमत्तत्वेऽपि पारोक्ष्यं दर्शयति – अथवेति । वैयाकरणानां शाक्टायन इत्यनेन तस्यामत्ततोत्काऽन्यचित्तता च । – Ioc. it., पृ.179

12. op. cit., p.176

13. Introductory Volume (No.7) of the Marathi translation of the Vyākaraṇa Mahābhāṣya (of Vasudev Shastri Abhyankar), by K.V. Abhyankar, (Deccan Education Society, Pune, 1954), p.128

14. पाणिनि ने नडादिगण में शकट शब्द का परिगणन कर शाकटायन शब्द की उत्पत्ति शकट से सिद्ध की और भाष्यकार ने कहा कि शकटवंशज शाकटायन को मार्ग के किनारे बैठे रहने पर भी पास से जाते हुए शकटसार्थ का भान नहीं हुआ । –पतंजलिकालीन भारत, ले. प्रभुदयाल अग्निहोत्री (बिहार राष्ट्राभाषा परिषद, पटना, १९६३) पृ. 7.

15. व्यापार वस्तुएँ ढोने के लिए गाडियों के सार्थ (समूह) एक साथ निकलते थे । op. cit.p.233

* Published in the Annals of the BORI, Vol. 79, 1998, (pp.243-248.)

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4.

THE STRUCTURING OF SENTENCES IN SANSKRIT

The more vocalising of the animate and the inanimate objects of the world - such as the man, the woman, the cow, the tree, the river, the stone, the pot and so on - does not seem to serve much purpose. The business of life as such as well as its linguistic representation obviously depends upon the objects coming together and performing some action. Thus, the man, the axe and the tree would become meaningful when stated thus: *'puruṣo vṛkṣaṁ kuṭhāreṇa chinatti'* ('The man is cutting the tree with an axe'.) or *'nadī parvatāt vahati'* ('The river flows from the mountain.')

These are also instances where the utterance denoting action alone also becomes meaningful: *uttiṣṭha* ('stand up'), *gataḥ* ('went'), *brūhi* ('speak up'), *paśya* ('see') and so on. These are the instances of a verb assuming the status of a sentence. Even so, it must be stated that a sentence in Sanskrit would normally be constructed around some noun-phrases, and, at least one verb-phrase. A sentence, thus establishes a relationship between noun phrase/s and verb phrase/s. Within a given sentence, the noun phrase/s and the verb-phrase/s assume a causal relationship, that is, the noun-phrases become indicators of the participants in the action, whereas the verb-phrases denote the action itself i.e. that being brought into existence. All participants of action in a sentence are regarded as minor. The object of a sentence is always assumed to be action which is denoted by verb phrase/s.

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This conclusion that action is the semantic focus of a sentence would lead us to inquire further into the internal structure of a sentence. Such an internal structure would reveal further the time of action, the location of action, and the participants of action. The noun phrase/s serve as the indicators of all of these. Any action is bound to be circumscribed by time and space. No action can ever take place outside the boundaries of time and space. The initial action of the creation of the universe itself is subject to these limitations. And action would always imply participants of action.

Let us analyse the sentence, *"prātaḥkāle mahānase Sītā agninā sthālyāṁ taṇḍulān pacati."* (This morning Sītā is cooking rice in her kitchen in a pot with the help of fire.)

1.	2.	3.	4.	
Place mahānase (in the kitchen)	Time prātaḥ-kāle (This morning)	Participants + A, - Sītā B, - agninā (with the help of fire) C, - sthālyām (in a pot) - D, taṇḍulān (rice)	Action pacati	= Sentence

Note 1 : Though the pot forms the 'place' for the rice being cooked, in the context of the sentence as a whole, it is a participant of action. The kitchen is the place in the right sense, since all participants of action are located therein.

Note 2 : The segment prātaḥ-kāle (This morning) delimits the general present tense indicated by the verb pacali (is cooking) which denotes only the general present tense.

Note 3 : Naturally, there are, in this sentence four of participants that converge on the action of cooking : rice, pot, fire and Sītā. (a) Sītā is the core agent of action, the animate agent here organises the inanimate participants, the pot, the rice, and the fire for the purpose of cooking. It is

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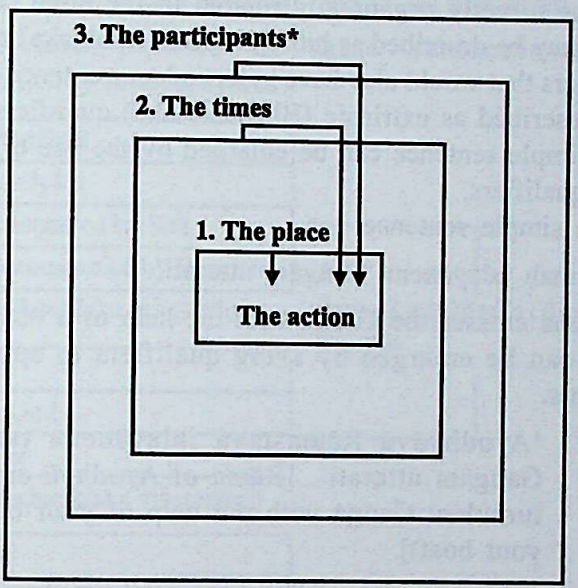
thus (A) Sītā, the co-ordinating agent that is directly responsible for bringing into existence the action of 'cooking', (B) agni (the fire) is the means of the action of cooking, (C) sthālyāṁ (the pot) supports the rice for cooking, (D) taṇḍulān (the rice) is the object on which the action of cooking takes effect. As a result of the action of cooking rice becomes soft, digestible and enjoyable.

In the context of such an analysis, the structure of a simple sentence in Sanskrit may be diagrammatically represented as under :



The diagram shows that action is at the semantic focus, since everything else in the sentence derives its meaning through its relationship to the action. The time and place circumscribe the action in a universal context and are invariably linked with any action. And the action itself is brought into existence through the participants. All arrows thus converge upon action.

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* The relationship of the various participants to each other as well as to the sentence as a whole is indicated precisely in Sanskrit by the inflections denoting the different cases.

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It may be mentioned here that all sorts of participants can be further contextualised and specified by the use of qualifiers (viśeṣaṇāni). Such qualifiers, would naturally fall into two separate categories. A woman, a fat woman, dark fat woman, a dark fat cheerful woman are all segments, each successive one more specific than the previous one.

But the specifying qualifiers dark, fat, cheerful-all relate to the woman. Now if you say Rāma's woman, the qualifier 'Rāma's' would also act as a specifier, but 'Rāma' indicated in the specifier 'Rāma's' would have an independent existence. The qualifiers that can be directly organically related to the noun (fat, dark, cheerful) may be described as intrinsic (Abhedamūlaka) qualifiers, the qualifiers that would also have independent existence (Rama's) may be described as extrinsic (Bhcdamulaka) qualifiers.

A simple sentence can be enlarged by the use of both the types of qualifiers.

The simple sentence,

'Rāmaḥ jalayānena Gaṅgām uttarati'.

[Rāma crosses the Gaṅgā with the help of a boat (= on a boat)]. - can be enlarged by using qualifiers to specifiy the participants.

1. 'Ayodhyāyā Rāmastava jalayānena taraṅgitām Gaṅgām uttarati'. [Rāma of Ayodhyā crosses the turbulent Gaṅgā with the help of your boat (= on your boat)].
2. 'Bhagavān Rāmo Bharatasya jalayānena vistirṇāṁ Gaṅgām uttarati.' [The God Rāma crosses the wide Gaṅgā with the help of Bharata's boat [=on Bharata's boat)].
3. 'Sītayā saha Rāmaḥ kaṣṭhamayena jalayānena punitām Gaṅgām uttarati.' [Rāma, accompanied by Sītā crosses the holy Gaṅgā with the help of a wooden boat (= on a wooden boat)].
4. 'Bharatam vinā Rāmo mahatā jalayānena

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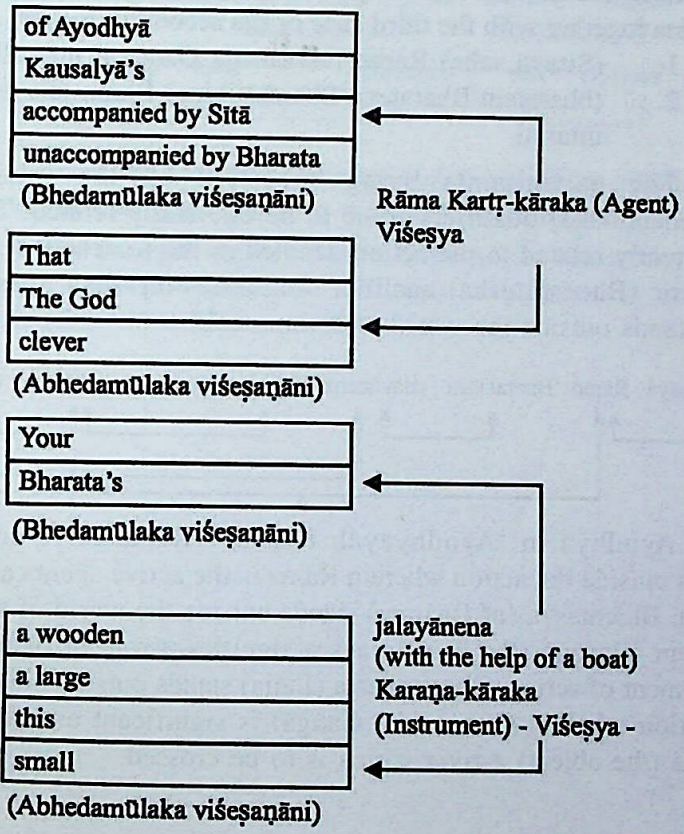
Bhāratavarṣasya Gaṅgām uttarati.' [Rāma, unaccompanied by Bharata, crosses the Gaṅgā of India with the help of a large boat (= on a large boat)].

5. 'Asau caturo Rāmo'nena jalayānenākāśaya Gaṅgām uttarati.' (That clever Rāma crosses the Gaṅgā of the sky (= the milky way) with the help of this boat (= on this boat)].

6. 'Kausalyāyā Rāmo laghunā jalayānena tāṁ Gaṅgām uttarati.' [(Kausalyā's Rāma crosses that Gaṅgā with the help of this small boat (= on this small boat)].

The noun-phrases in these sentences may be diagrammatically analysed thus :



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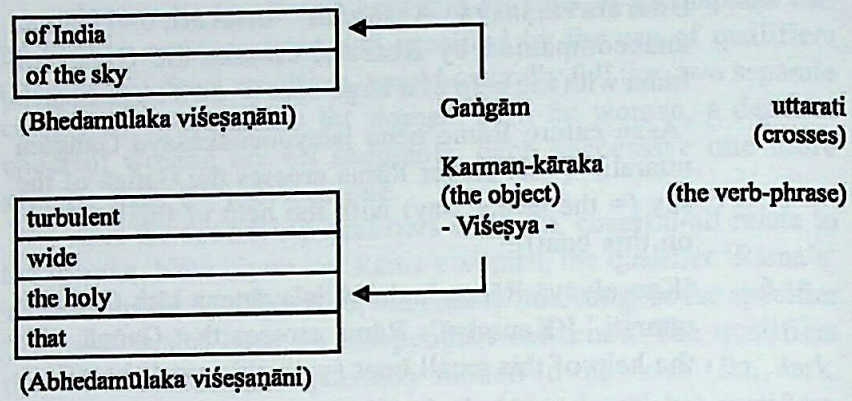
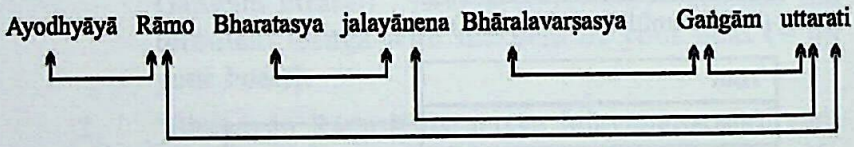


It may be noted that the extrinsic (Bhedamūlaka) qualifiers require the use of undeclinable prepositional phrases such as *saha* and *vina* together with the third case or the second/third/fifth case.

1. (Sitayā saha) Rāmo jalayānena Gaṅgām uttarati.
2. (bharatam/Bharatena/Bharatāt vina) Ramo jalayanena uttarati

The participants being specified by the intrinsic (Abhedamūlaka) qualifiers come to be bilaterally related. These are directly related to the action denoted in the sentence. But the extrinsic (Bhedamūlaka) qualifier establishes for them a context that stands outside the world of action itself.



Ayodhyā in 'Ayodhyāyāḥ Rāmaḥ' (Rāma of Ayodhyā) stands outside the action wherein Rāma is the active agent causing action. Bhāratasya (of Bhārata) stands outside the world of action wherein jalayāna (the boat) plays a significant role of being the instrument of action. Bharatavarsa (India) stands outside the world of action wherein Gaṅgā (the Gaṅgā) is significant as Karman-kāraka (the object) a river which is to be crossed.

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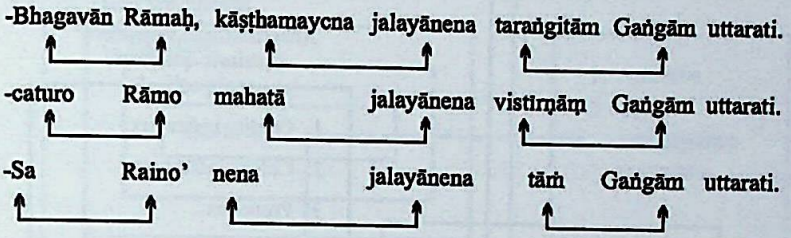
The intrinsic (Abhedamūlaka) qualifiers are governed by the gender, the case and the number of the qualifieds. This is at the instance of the dictates of grammar :

yalliṅgam yadvacanaṁ yā ca vibhaklirviśeṣyasya /
talliṅgaṁ tadvacanaṁ saiva tibhaktirviścṣaṇasyāpi //

The philosophy behind this must be understood. Since the intrinsic (Abhedamūlaka) qualifiers are directly linked with the qualifieds, it is quite natural that the gender, case and number for both of them should be in harmony.



Since the extrinsic (Bhedamūlaka) qualifiers stand outside the qualifieds, such harmony need not be insisted upon.

The enlargement of a simple sentence by using the extrinsic (Bhedamūlaka) and intrinsic (Abhedamūlaka) qualifiers may now be diagrammatically represented :-

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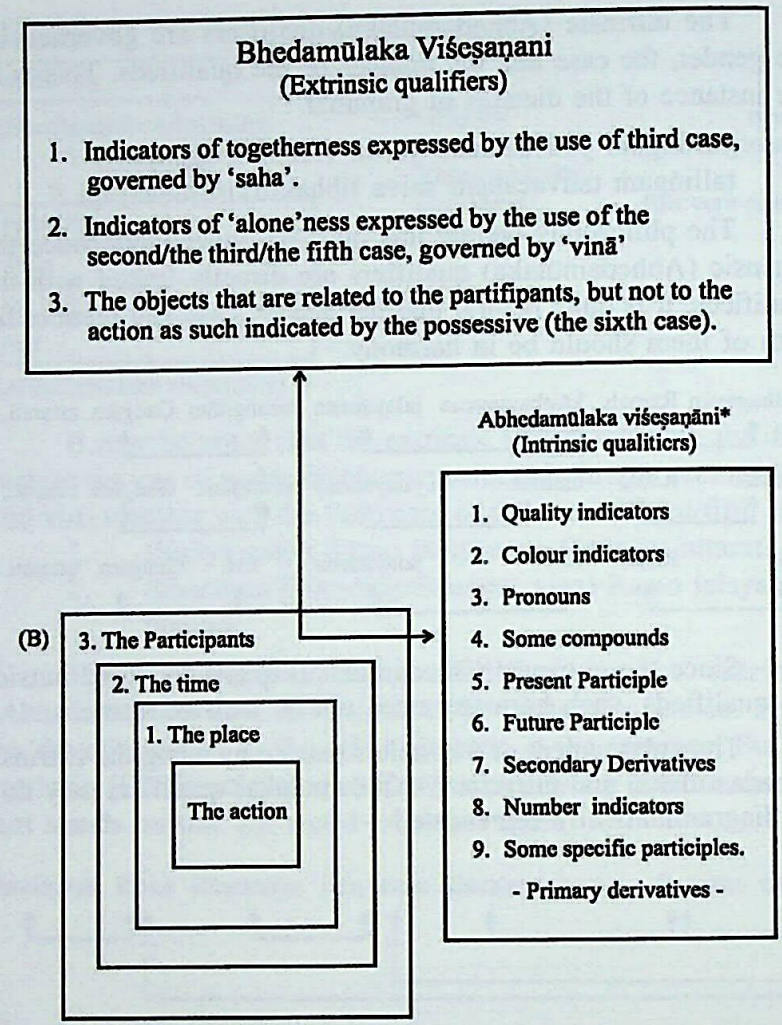

Just as a simple sentence can be enlarged by using extrinsic (Bhedamūlaka) and intrinsic (Abhedamūlaka) qualifiers contextualising the participants, it can also be enlarged by using 'linguistic segments' that would contextualise the action itself. These 'linguistic segments' get related to the verb-phrase/s, and fall into three categories :

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* for the detailed discussion see : *Sanskrit Vakya - Saṁracanā* by Bhatt V. M. pub. : Saraswati Pustaka Bhandar, Ahmedabad,1990, pp.71-72.

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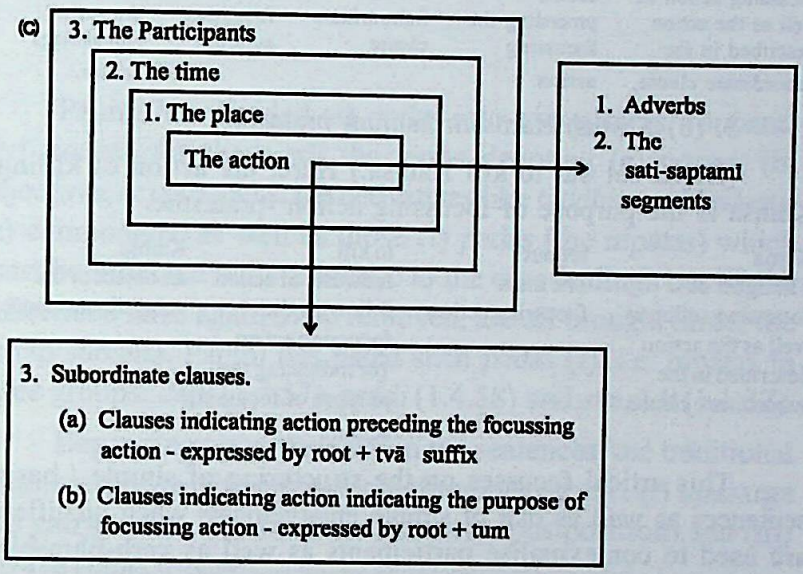
1. adverbs.
2. the'sati-saplami'(Absolute Locative) segments.
3. the subordinate clauses contextualising action.

The structuring of a sentence thus enlarged may also be diagrammalically represented. It must be mentioned that all these three categories are independent of each other, though, the subordinate clauses may be separated from the other two. All three may also be used simultaneously.



Let us consider some instances.

1. Jarāsandhaḥ sukhaṁ śete. (Jarāsandha is sleping peacefully.) sukham (peacefully) is an adverb qualifiying the action of śete (sleeping).
2. Bhīṣme hate Duryodhanaḥ saṅgrāmam agacchat. (Duryodhana entered the field when Bhīṣma got killed.)

'Bhiṣme hate' (when Bhīṣma got killed) illustrates the use of sati-saptamī.

(= Bhāvalakṣanā - saptamī). The reference to Bhiṣma

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getting killed acts as a time indicator for the focussing action of Duryodhana entering the field.

3. (a) *Kaṁsam hatvā Kṛṣṇo Dvārikāṁ gacchati* (Having killed Kaṁsa, Kṛṣṇa goes to Dvārikā).

The action of killing Kaṁsa precedes the action of going to Dvārikā:

Kṛṣṇa	*having killed*	*Kaṁsa*	*goes*	*to Dvārikā.*
The agent of focussing action as well as the action described in the subordinate clause,	Indicator of action preceding the focussing action.	Object of the action in Subodrinate clause	The main action - focussing action.	The object of action / the main (focussing) action.

3. (b) *Kṛṣṇaḥ Kaṁsaṁ hantuṁ pratasthe.*

(Kṛṣṇa set out to kill Kaṁsa.) Here, the action of killing Kaṁsa is the purpose of focussing action -pratasthe.

Kṛṣṇa	set out	to kill	Kaṁsa
The agent of focussing action as well as the action described in the subordinate clause.	The main focussing action,	Indicator of action following the focussing action (or indicating the purpose of focussing action).	an object of the subordinate clause.

This artical focusses on the structuring of simple / basic sentences as well as that of simple enlargements when qualifiers are used to contextualise participants as well as verb-phrase/s. Indeed, there arc much more complex and compound structures as well as the sentences involving the use of words such as *yat / iti /* and *iva* etc. Even these would reveal the same basic patterning that is discussed here, and can be similarly analysed.

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* Published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay, Vol.70, 1995 (pp.16-24)

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5

THE GRAMMATICAL FUNCTIONS OF THE *UPAPADAS*

(upapadas; saha, vinā, namaḥ, etc.)

Pāṇini has divided all *padas* into two groups : *subanta* and *tiṅanta*. Of these, all the terms denoting (a) nouns, (b) adjectives, (c) pronouns, (d) derivatives like *taddhita* and *kṛdanta*, (e) compounds, as well as those (f) *padas* (the *nipātas*) which must be inflected with reference to the case endings but which inflections have again to be removed, are all brought under the group *subanta*. Pāṇini has listed such *padas* (f), i.e. nipātas in three groups: *cādi* (1.4.57), *prādi* (1.4.58) and *svarādi* (1.1.37).

Depending upon their use in the sentences, the traditional grammar divides the *nipātas* into three categories : (i) *upasarga* and *gati* (prefix), (ii) *karmapravacanīya* (postposition) and (iii) *avyaya* (indeclinable). .

It must be noted, in this context that, both, Bhartṛhari and Yāska have something to say about these groups. Bhartṛhari has discussed the grammatical functions of the prefixes (*upasargas*) and the post-positionals (*karmapravacanīyas*) of the prādi category[1]. He has also discussed the grammatical functions of some of the *nipātas* of the other two categories[2].

Yāska's categorization of the *nipātas* differs from the one offered by Pāṇini. He divides them semantically into three groups: *upamārthaka*, i.e. those denoting the similes;

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karmopasaṅgrahārthaka, i.e. those denoting conjunctions; and *padapūraṇārthaka*, i.e. those that are aremerely gap-fillers[3].

It would seem, no discussion, has been offered as yet, of some of the *nipātas* that are described traditionally as the ones leading to the case-inflections, commonly known as the *upapadas*, e.g *saha, vinā, ṛte, namaḥ* etc. Pāṇini, in this context, has only confined himself to the giving of the rules of syntax[4]. He too is silent on the grammatical functions of such *nipātas*.

A closer look at these *upapadas* makes it possible, as is shown here, to arrive at some conclusions regarding their functions and behaviour. A statement about any action must first indicate the participants/doers of action, e.g. ***Rāmaḥ kaṣṭhaiḥ taṇḍulān pacati.*** and then indicate their relationships with the world: *Daśarathasya Rāmaḥ, vṛkṣasya kāṣṭhaih, (guroḥ taṇḍulān,) pacati.* The statement might also include a mentioning of time and place : *(adya\sthālyāṁ) Rāmaḥ* ***kaṣṭhaiḥ taṇḍulān*** *pacati.* In some cases the statement would extend to the context/ situation from the point/s of view of doer/action. For the indication of this last, terms like सह, विना, ऋते, नमः etc. are used.

An analysis of the following sentence will help to understand the interplay of the different components : *adya. sthālyāṁ Lakṣmaṇena saha Daśarathasya (putraḥ) caturaḥ Rāmaḥ*

kāṣṭhaiḥ taṇḍulān pacati. *sahayukte 'pradhāne* (2.3.19) governs the suffix (ṭā) attached to *Lakṣmaṇa*.

Apparently, this does not indicate the sense of an "instrument" : the use of the case-suffix is either conventional, or as, *śabdasādhutva-prayojikā vibhakti*[5]. The sense of accompaniment is due to the use of the *upapada* like *saha*.

The statement thus indicates Rāma's being accompanied by Lakṣmaṇa for the purpose of this specific action of cooking.

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The pharse, *Lakṣmaṇena saha* merely adds to the noun Rāma- just as *caturaḥ* or *Daśarathasya* add to the meaning of the same noun. All three additions — *Daśarathasya, caturaḥ* and *Lakṣmaṇena saha*— illumine Rāma, the performer of the action of cooking. The phrase, *Lakṣmaṇena saha,* performs the function of an adjective, a part of which, i.e. *saha* indicates only the fact of accompaniment. Indeed, the *upapada, saha* wherever and whenever it occurs, it should be concluded, indicates only the fact of accompaniment.

It would be interesting to investigate the syntactic implications - in contradistinction to the semantic implications explored above - of *saha.* In the statements *Rāmaḥ Lakṣmaṇaśca gacchataḥ* and *Rāmaḥ Lakṣmaṇena saha gacchati;* the former implies two doers of the same action both equally focussed, while the latter, focusses on Rāmaḥ, indicating Lakṣmaṇa as merely one who accompanies the main doer of the action. This latter statement establishes a hierarchical relationship between the two doers of the same action.

Indeed Pāṇini's term apradhāna in his aphorism *sahayukte 'pradhāne* (2.3.19) clearly implies hierarchy in such situations. The use of the more recent term, 'defocussing' appears to be less adequate as the phrase *Lakṣmaṇena saha* does not detract from *Rāmaḥ;* in fact, the phrase reinforces the attention on the main doer. It must, -however be conceded that though philosophically, and syntactically, the statement establishes hierarchy, there may also be a case for defocussing from a psychological standpoint. In any case *saha* in conjunction with a co-doer of action in such statements appears to be adjectival semantically and hierarchical philosophically.

vinā is another *upapada* similar in behaviour to *saha.* The use of vinā, in *adya... Bharataṁ / Bharatena / Bharatāt vinā*

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Daśarathasya (putraḥ) caturaḥ Rāmaḥ vanaṁ gacchati, makes for some finer implications.

It means that which was expected-the accompaniment of Bharata-could not be brought about. Even so, the conclusions reached in case of *saha,* would also seem to apply to *vinā* too.

In addition to the functions of *saha* and *vinā* investigated above, it would be intresting to investigate also the use of *satisaptami* (*yasya ca bhāvena bhāvalakṣaṇam* 2.3.37) designated as *upapada* by Patañjali[6].

In the statement *goṣu duhyamānāsu Rāmaḥ gataḥ; goṣu duhyamānāsu* contextualizes the situation of the exit of Rāmaḥ, whereas the *upapada, udayati savitari* in the statement *udayati savitari tamo naṣṭam* contextualizes the time of the lifting of darkness. In either case, it can be seen, the *upapadas* formed by the use of *satisaptami* (2.3.37) semantically add to basic statement about action itself— *gatah* and *naṣṭam*-, the same way as the *upapadas saha* and *vina* add to the basic statement regarding the doer of the action.

Lastly a mention must also be made of those *upapadas— namaḥ, svasti, svāhā, svadhā, alam* and *vaṣaṭ* that take upon themselves the function of a verb, in the absence of a *tiṅanta* pada. In the statements *Gaṇeśāya namaḥ, Sītāyai svasti, Indrāya svāhā* etc. *the upapadas namaḥ, svasti, svāhā* etc. function as verbs.

In support, attention may be drawn to the fact that Nāgeśa has already noted the presence of the concept of action (kriyātva) in *upapadas* like *namaḥ*[7].

To conclude, it is possible to go beyond the traditional attitude to the *upapadas,* which limits itself to the formation of the syntactic rules only, and say that, the *upapadas* like *saha* and *vinā* add to the basic statement regarding the doer of action; the *sati saptamyanta*

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upapadas add to the basic statement about the action itself, and that the *upapadas* like *namaḥ, svasti, svāhā, svadhā, alam* and *vaṣaṭ* take upon themselves the function of a verb.

Note :- This paper was read at All India Oriental Conference, 31st Session, Oct. 1982, Univ. of Rajasthan, Jaipur;

[How it is that *udayati savitari tamo naṣṭam* exhibits no case of free morphemes of the adverbial nature like *saha, vinā,* namaḥ, ṛte etc. and still it is instanced by you ? — Editor, K.V. Sharma.

"My paper concentrates on two types of *upapadas* (i) the free morphemes of adverbial nature and (ii) those that are used in the *bhāva saptami* (=*sati saptami*), where the use of the seventh case is governed by Pāṇini 2,3.37 (*yasya ca bhāvena bhāvalakṣaṇam*'). The padas (terms) *udayati savitari*- jointly and severally function as *upapadas.* cf. my foot note No, 6". -The Author]

Foot Note :

1. (i) उपसर्ग :
   स वाचको विशेषाणां सम्भवाद् द्योतकोऽपि वा ।
   शक्त्याधानाय धातोर्वा सहकारी प्रयुज्यते ॥ (VP. II. 188)

   (ii) कर्मप्रवचनीयः
   क्रियाया द्योतको नायं सम्बन्धस्य न वाचकः ।
   नापि क्रियापदाक्षेपी सम्बन्धस्य तु भेदकः ॥ (VP II. 204)

2. निपाता द्योतकाः केचित्पृथगर्थाभिधायिनः ।
   भागमा इव केऽपि स्युः सम्भूयार्थस्य वाचकाः ॥ (VP. II. 192)

3. i) तेषामेते (इव, न, चित्, नु) चत्वार उपमार्थे भवन्ति ।
   ... अग्निरिव । इन्द्र इव ॥ I. 4.

   ii) अथ यस्यागमादर्थपृथक्त्वमह विज्ञायते स कर्मोपसङ्ग्रहः ।

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(तद्यथा) चेति समुच्चयार्थ उभाभ्यां संप्रयुच्यते ॥ अहं च त्वं च वृत्रहन्निति ।...वेति विचारणार्थे 'हन्ताहं पृथिवीमिमां नि दधानीह वेह वेति' ॥

iii) अथापि पदपूरणः । इदमु । तदु । (१.५) अथ ये प्रवृत्तेऽर्थेऽमिताक्षरेषु ग्रन्थेषु वाक्यपूरणा आगच्छन्ति पदपूरणास्ते मिताक्षरेषु अनर्थकाः । कम् ईम् इद् उ इति ॥ (१.९)

4. i) अन्तरान्तरेण युक्ते । २.३.४ ।

ii) नमः स्वस्तिस्वाहास्वधा० । २.३.१५;

iii) सहयुक्तेऽप्रधाने । २.३.१९;

iv) अन्यारादितरर्तेदिक् शब्दाञ्चू० । २.३.२९;

v) पृथग्विनानानाभिस्तृतीया० ।२.३.३२;

vi) यस्य च भावेन भावलक्षणम् । २.३.३७ ।

5. न केवल प्रकृतिः प्रयोक्तव्या, नापि केवलः प्रत्ययः ॥
– १.२.६४ इत्यत्र भाष्यम्

6. (i) अत एव 'यस्य च भावेन०' (२.३.३७) इति सप्तम्यपेक्षयाधिकरण सप्तम्या बलवत्वमनेन न्यायेन 'तत्र च दीयते' (५.१.१६) इति सूत्रे भाष्ये ध्वनितं, कैयटेन स्पष्टमुक्तम् ॥ – परिभाषेन्दुशेखरः – ९४.

(ii) मासे दीयते इति नैषाऽधिकरणसप्तमी । किं तर्हि ?' यस्य च भावेन.', इति । 'तत्र भव' इत्यत्र चाधिकरणसप्तमी आश्रिता उपपदविभक्तेः कारकविभक्तिर्बलीयसी' इति न्यायात् । ५.१.९६. इत्यत्र कैयटः ।

7. अत्र च नमः पदार्थस्यापि क्रियात्वं, मुण्डयतौ मुण्डस्य इव ॥
– परिभाषेन्दुशेखरः –९४

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6.

वृत्रहा - Kvip-ending kṛdanta and Pāṇinī

Introduction:

In the Aṣṭadhyāyī of Pāṇini the *Kvip* - Suffix is ordained in two senses (i) tātcchīlya (an agent who performs am action because of his nature (śila), and (ii) būta,i-e.past sense. In the adhikāra (a heading rule) of 3-2-134, viz. आ क्रेस्तच्छील तद्धर्म – तत्साधुकारिषु 1, the kṛt suffixes viz.तृन् (3-2-135), क्विप् (3-2-178) etc. are ordained in the sense of ताच्छील्य Under the adhikāra of भूते। 3-2-8 the aphorism, viz ब्रह्म–भ्रूण – वृत्रेषु क्विप् 3-2-86 ordains क्विप् in the sense of भूत (past tense). In view of this how the injunctions of Pāṇini's grammar become helpful in deriving the true meaning of the words वृत्रहा, दस्युहा, and अमित्रहा is the subject of this paper.[1]

1

If we take the word वृत्रहा with the suffix क्विप् in the sense of ताच्छील्य, then it would mean, "one whose nature is to kill vṛtra" (तत्शीलम् अस्य) So, वृत्रहा would mean, "the killer of vṛtra" (वृत्रं हन्तुं शीलमस्य इति वृत्रहा) Oldenberg and Griffith take this word 'वृत्रहा' to mean foe slayer"[2] For H. H. wilson, it means "slayer of vṛtra"[3] and Prof H. D. Velankar takes it to mean "being the killer of enemies."[4] Thus it appears that the modern scholars are inclined to take this term as refferring to the nature of *Indra*. The logic behind this seems to be that Indra is normally interpreted as a Rain-God and *'Vṛtra'* is explained as "Megha",

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the cloud that encompasses water". So, whenever the sky is over cast by rainy clouds *Indra* Kills them, i.e. (*vṛtra* in form of a cloud) and brin grain.

This natural phenomenon takes place with the help of *Indra* the rain-god, who is *'Vṛtrahā'*.

The Commentators such as Veṅkaṭa - Mādhava and Sāyaṇa also suggest the following meanings of *वृत्रहा* viz

(i) Veṅkaṭa Says[5] वृत्रहा वृत्रस्य च असुरस्य मेघस्य हन्ता... (X -83)

(ii) Sāyaṇa Says[6] वृत्रहा वृत्रस्यावरकस्य वृष्टिनिरोधकस्य मेघस्यासुरस्य वा हन्ता। यदा आवरणकाणां शत्रूणां हन्ता इन्द्रो मदाय.... ॥ (I-81-1)

2

But the meaning viz. "the killer of Vṛtra - one who kills *vṛtra* or slayer of *vṛtra*" - seems to be objectionable from Pāṇinis śabdānuśāsana In the Kāśika, on 3-2-86 it is suggested that terms such as ब्रह्म-भ्रूण and वृत्र - if they are in उपपद, then verb-root हन् takes क्विप् suffix in the sense of the past tense.[7] so, the terms such as भ्रूणहा-वृत्रहा etc. that are formed should carry the sense of a past event. Thus वृत्रहा would mean "one who in the past has (actually) killed vṛtra (the demon).

3

The *Mantras* that could have inspired Pāṇini to interpret क्विप् in the sense of past event only are Ṛgveda VIII- 24-2 which says:-

(१) शवसा ह्यसि श्रुतो वृत्रहत्येन वृत्रहा।

मघैर्मघोनो अति शूर दाशसि ॥ (ऋ. ८-२४-२)

(O Indra !) you are wel-known through your valour and on killing *vṛtra* you are (known as) *Vṛtrahā*. O mighty one you give (more) through your bounties than the opulent !

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(2) नव यो नवतिं पुरो बिभेदे ब्राह्वोजसा
अहिं च वृत्रहावधीत् ॥ ऋ.८-९३-२

" One who destroyed *(Śambara's)* ninty nine citadels by his valour, that *vṛta*, had killed *vṛtra* in the past. He has killed *Ahi* (also)."

It seems that the act of killing *Vṛtra* was actually physically performed in the past and in view of that only the epithet *vṛtrahā* seems to have become current. Similarly there are other mantras in which *vṛtrahā* is used only as an epithet of *Indra*. They are

(१) आ वृत्रहेन्द्रश्चर्षणिप्रास्तुविष्टमो नरां न इह गम्या : ऋ. १.८६

(२) स वृत्रहेन्द्रः कृष्णयोनीः पुरंदरो दासीरैरयद्वि ॥ २-२०

(३) स वृत्रहेन्द्रश्चर्षणीधृतं सुष्टु त्या हव्यं हुवेम ॥ ८-९६

(४) स वृत्रहेन्द्र ऋभुक्षाः सद्यो जज्ञानो हव्यो बभूव ॥ ७९

(५) यद्वावान पुरुतमं पुराषाळ्ा वृत्रहेन्द्रो नामान्यप्रा : ॥ (१०-७४)

In these mantras the word order of the term Vṛtrahā is note worthy. It is used prior to Indra indicating Indra's siddha-viśeṣaṇa like ज्येष्ठो or भग्नोरुर्दुर्योधनः, etc. This epithet Vṛtrahā clearly means one who has killed Vṛtra, in the past.

Thus When Pāṇini ordain क्विप् suffix in the sense of an actual past event and suggest *Vṛtrahā* as an illustration we can positively surmise that 'Vṛtra' must be some historical person who actual obstructed something. After that it must have been used in the sense of any obstructive object. Such a term *Vṛtra* in the sense of an obstructor is normal seen in neuter gender plural from only.

In the Vedaṅga, viz, Nirukt this episode is noted differently. To the question, viz. तत्को वृत्रः ? Yāska note त्वाष्ट्रोऽसुर इति ऐतिहासिकाः । मेघ इति नैरुक्ताः, Vṛtra is the son of the *Asura Tvaṣṭā*,

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in the opinion of the historians. But *Vṛtras* is the name given to Megha according the etymologists. (Nairuktas).

The view of the historians which takes *vṛtra* as an individual obstructor seams to be supported by Pāṇini's explaination of क्विप्, suffix-formation in the sence of past event. Dr. R. N. Dandekar in his article. viz "Vṛtrahā *Indra*" tried to establish that Indra was a historical war-god in the beginning who was later adored as a national war-hero, in the second stage and was taken as a rain-god in the third stage.[11] But Dandekar has not supported the case of vṛtra also being taken as a historical figure of the past. This is supported by Pāṇini's observation of taking the क्विप् suffix in 'vṛtrahā' as referring to a past event.[12] Thus vṛtra also has to be taken as a historical personage who was an obstructor. Later on in course of time when *Indra* became a raingod the epithet, viz. 'Vṛtrahā' continued to be used with him as a Siddha Viśaṣaṇa[13] But when now *'Vṛtra'* became current not as an historical personge alone, but anything that caused obstruction, Pāṇini gave another aphorism बहुलं छन्दसि । ३.२.८७ which ordains that क्विप् is suffixed in some other sense also irrespective of any time-factor. Thus ताच्छील्यार्थक *'Vṛtrahā'* can be used with reference to *Agni Soma* and *Surya* also in the Vedas.[14]

Under the heading rule भूते ३-२-८४, We have the aphorism ब्रह्म-भ्रूण वृत्रेषु क्विप् । ३-२-८६ This rule restricts the affix क्विप् should be introduced affter verbal root हन्, only when the conjoing words are constituted by ब्रह्म, भ्रूण and वृत्र. But Kāśikā states that the restiction of *upapada* has been compromised by the rule बहुलं छन्दसि । 3-2-87. So, get terms such as अमित्रहा । दस्युहा । असुरक्षोहा । etc., which carry the sense of ताच्छील्य The illustration of such a use is seen in Ṛgveda X-170-2. Here we have *vṛtrahā*

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in the 'भूत' (past) sense and Amitrahā in the ताच्छील्य sensce of The meaning of this *mantra* would :

"One who has killed *vṛtra* in form of darkness (that pervades) light of the Sun, which kills the enemies, kills dasya specially, kills the *Asuras* and also the sapatnas - the natural enemies - that Light has shone forth."

Here on one hand we have to take vṛtrahā in the sense of past, and it sounds relevant in case of the light of the Sun also, because after destroying the pervading darkness the light of the Sun is manifested. Such light which kills darkness in form, of *vṛtra*, and is manifested after that becomes the killer of अमित्र, दस्यु, रक्षस् etc.(in future) also.

The discussion concerning the term क्विप् प्रत्ययान्त 'Vṛtrahā' goes to suggest that Pāṇini's grammar is an unavoidable and guiding factor in arriving at the right interpretation of the Vedas.

Foot Note

* paper presented at the National Seminar on Vedic Sanskrit - A lingnistic Approach, held at the Delhi University, Delhi, during 18-9 feb.2000.

(1) Prof. Paul Thieme has not discussed this aphorism (3-2-86) in his book on "Pāṇini and the Veda" (Globe Press, printers and publishers, Allahabad 1935).

(2) (A) Vedic Hymns, by H-Oldenberg (Part-2), Sacred Books of the East Servies no-XLVI, Delhi, 1979

(B) Hymns of the Ṛgveda (Vol-2) by Ralph Griffith, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Studies, vol-35, Varanasi, 1963 [IX-28-3, Page:289]

(3) Ṛgveda Saṁhita; English Translation by H -H-Wilson, Revised edition by Parimal Publication, Delhi,1997 (Vol.I to IV) see: vol, IV p-24 (X-23-2)

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(4) Ṛgveda Maṇḍala III (30-5), Translated by H.D.Velankar, pub. Bombay University Press Bombay, (p.64)

(5) ṚGVEDA (Vol-VII), Ed. Vishva Bandhu, V. V. R. Institute, Hoshiarpur, 1965 (p.364)

(6) ऋग्वेदसंहिता (with सायणभाष्य) Vol.I सं. वैदिक संशोधन मण्डलम्, पूना, १९३३ (Page-505)

(7) ब्रह्मादिषु कर्मसूपपदेषु हन्तेर्धातोः क्विप् प्रत्ययो भवति भूते । काशिकावृत्तिः (Vol.2) सं. द्वारिकादासशास्त्री एवं कालिकाप्रसाद शुक्ल, प्राच्यभारती प्रकाशन, वाराणसी, १९६५ (पृ.६०५)

(8) The word formation of वृत्रहा is वृत्र + हन् + क्विप् → वृत्र +० हन् + ० → सौ च ६-४-१३ ordains दीर्घत्व → वृत्र + हा = वृत्रहा । and lastly गतिकारकोपपदात्कृत् 6-2-139 says that the kṛdanta हा - should get the prakṛti-svara - *vṛ́tra-hā* ॥

(9) येन वृत्राणि हर्यश्व हंसि । ऋ. ७-२२-२

(10) यास्कप्रणीतं निरुक्तम् (अ.२, पा.५)

(11) We may now be justified in concluding that it must have been primarily a human hero-indessentially a historical personality. that, - in of time, he must have been elevated to the position first of the national war-god and then of the supreme god, and that, later on, naturalistic cosmic elements must have been superimposed on his personality. Vedic Mythological Trade by R.N.Dandekar, pub. Ajanta Publications, Delhi,1979 (p.167)

(12) किमर्थमिदमुच्यते, यावता सर्वधातुभ्यः क्विब्विहित । ब्रह्मादिषु हन्तेः क्विब्वचनं नियमार्थम् ।... ब्रह्मादिषु हन्ते काले क्विबेव, नान्यः प्रत्ययः, तथा भूतकाल एव, नान्यसिन; ब्रह्माणं हन्ति, हनिष्यति वेति ॥ काशिकावृत्तिः (३-२-८७ इत्यत्र), पृ.६०६

(13) See: ऋ. 3-52-7, 3-54-15, 5-40-4, 6-47-6, 8-2-26, 8-46-13 8-61-15, 8-66-3, 8-70-1, 9-113-1, 10-49-6, 10-83-3, 10-152-2 and 10-153-3.

(14) Vṛtrahā is used for Agni in ऋ. 1-74 2-1-11, 3-20-4, 6-16-19 and 10-69-12; for Soma in ऋ.1-91-5, 9-25-3, 9-28 9-37-5, 9-89-7, and for Surya in ऋ. 10-170-2.

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7

KALIKĀLA-SARVAJÑA ĀCĀRYA HEMACANDRA : A RE-APPRAISAL

1

Long after the passing away of Jina Mahāvīra, under the chairmanship of Devarddhi Gaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇa, the Jaina spiritual leaders of the Northern Church met at Valabhī (Saurāṣṭra, Gujarat State) in A. D. 503/516 and collated the earlier two versions, the one fixed at the Mathurā Synod and the other at Valabhī Synod 1, both around the middle of the fourth century A. D. The present version of the Jaina āgamas was then committed to writing. Six centuries after that event, king Siddharāja Jayasiṁha of the Caulukya dynasty (A. D. 1096-1142) ruled in Gujarat at Aṇahillapattana (North Gujarat, District Banasakamtha). In his assembly, learned discourses were also held besides the usual political transactions. It is on record that Devasūri, the Śvetāmbara pontiff, defeated the Naiyāyika Kumudacandra, a Digambara holyman, in a doctrinal debate at this assembly in A. D. 1125. The incident was delineated in the play, the Mudrita-Kumudacandra by Yaśaścandra, which is believed to be closer in time to the event.

A very important chapter in the history of the literary activities in Gujarat was added when Hemacandra graced the assembly of Siddharāja Jayasiṁha. In those days Hemacandra led the intellectual arena by producing a large number of works,

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all single-handed. A list of his learned productions will attest to the vast canvas, sweep, and importance of his writings. He had, for instance penned (1) the Siddhahema - śabdādnuśāsana, (2) the Abhidhānacintāmaṇi, (3) the Deśināmālā, (4) the Kāvyānuśāsana, (5) the Chandonuśāsana, (6) the Pramāṇamīmāsā (incompletely available), (7) the Sanskrit Dvyāśraya-mahakdvya, (8) the Prakrit Dvyāśraya-mahākāvya or the Kumārapālacarita, (9) the Triṣaṣṭi-śalākāpuruṣa-carita, (10) the Mahāvīra-carita and the pariśiṣṭa-parva, (11) the Yogaśāstra, and (12) five hymns including the Vītarāga-stotra. Thus he wrote on grammar, kośa-class of dictionary, poetics, metrics, epistemology, logic, philosophy, as also on biographical, and the kathā and stotra (narrative and hymnal) literature. So, he was given the honorific title Kalikāla-sarvajña — the Omniscient of the Iron Age by later Śvetāmbara Jaina writers.

However, in our own times, when his contribution was evaluated, P. V. Kane wrote : 'The Kāvyānuśasana is a compilation and exhibits hardly any originality. It borrows wholesale from the Kāvyamīmaṁsā of Rājaśekhara, the Kāvyaprakāśa, the Dhvanyāloka, and from Abhinavagupta's works[1]." But, on the opposite side, R. C. Parikh, who wrote on the cultural history of Gujarat in the introductory volume to his critical edition of the Kāvyānuśāsana, observes that Gujarat entered into competition with Mālavā not only in the political arena, but also in the spheres of learning and art[2].

T. S. Nandi has suggested that Hemacandra, in his Kāvyānuśāsana, tried to follow and promulgate the Kāśmīra School in poetics, so as to push back the Mālava-school of Bhoja[3]. The historical data provided by Prabhācandra of Rājagaccha in the Prabhāvaka-carita (A. D. 1277) reveals that, perhaps the task of carrying Gujarat in lead in the intellectual

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arena, was handed over to Hemacandra by Siddharāja. Manuscripts from Kāśmīra as also from other parts of the country were then made available to Hemacandra. What is more, after defeating the Paramāra potentate Yaśovarmā of Mālava, the library of Dhārā (which included the manuscripts of Bhoja's works), was brought to Gujarat. Siddharāja Jayasiṁha looked at the collection of works from Mālava through green eyes of jealousy and asked Hemacandra to compose a new grammar that would bring prestige to Gujarat. The result was the Siddha-Hema-śabdānuśāsana, a Sanskrit-Prakrit grammar[4]. In Merutuṅgācārya's Prabandha-cintāmaṇi (A.D.1305), there is the third canto called "Siddharāja prabandha," in which this grammar is eulogized in fulsome terms :

भ्रातः संवृणु पाणिनिप्रलपितं कातन्त्रकन्था वृथा
मा कार्षीः कटु शाकटायनवचः क्षुद्रेण चान्द्रेण किम् ।
कः कण्ठाभरणादिभिर्बठरयत्यात्मानमन्यैरपि
श्रूयन्ते यदि तावदर्थमधुराः श्रीसिद्धहेमोक्तयः[5] ॥

Thus, by penning the Siddha-Hema-śabdānuśāsana, Hemacandra had endeavoured to smear the Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini as also the Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhabhāraṇa of Bhoja besides other grammars composed between the two in time.

On the evidence of verses from the Prabhāvaka-carita, in the times of Hemacandra, the Kālāpaka vyākaraṇa was much in vogue and the Brahmins did not teach the Pāṇinian system of grammar to non-brahmins as it was a Vedāṅga. Thus, for the benefit of the people at large, Hemacandra composed his Siddha-Hema-śābdanuśāsana[6]. In it he removed the Vaidika portion of the Aṣṭādhyāyī and replaced it with the grammar of the Prakrits such as Māgadhi, Śaurasenī, Paiśācī, Mahārāṣṭri, Ārṣa (Ardhamāgadhī of the Jaina canon), Apabhraṁśa etc. Thus

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Hemacandra provided intellectual leadership not only to Gujarat but also to the whole of India of his times. The Vaidika mantras were used only in the context of Yajña-rituals, but the Prakrit dialects that were spoken in different parts of the country, and the literary compositions that were written in Prakrits, were duly recognised by Hemacandra. As a result, he thought it useful to add grammar of these Prakrits which was perhaps the need / demand of the time. Thus he gave the first clear and positive evidence of his intellectual leanings.

III

As noted in the foregoing section, Hemacandra wrote on different subjects. But this paper attempts to highlight and evaluate his genius in the field of grammar alone. His all-encompassing study of language becomes clear by looking into his following works : (i) the Siddha-Hema-śabdānuśāsana :- It contains grammar of both Sanskrit and Prakrits. He had also written shorter and longer (लघु and बृहत्) commentaries on this grammar. In addition, he had written a third commentary called the Śabda-mahārṇava or the Bṛhannyāsa, today available only in fragments, (ii) the *Uṇādi-sūtra* : This, too, was composed by Hemacandra with explanatory notes, (iii) the *Dhātupāṭha,* with *svopajña vṛtti,* (iv) the *Liṅgānuśāsaṇa,* and (v) the *Gaṇapāṭha* were also written by him. Thus we may say that he has given a Pañcāṅgi or fivefaced vyākaraṇa. No less noteworthy are his lexicons, namely (i) the Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi, (2) the Anekārthakośa, (3) the Nighaṇṭu concerning herbs, (4) the Deśināmamālā, and (5) the two Dvyāśraya Kāvyas. These were; composed, not unlike the Bhaṭṭi-kāvya, to illustrate the sūtras from his own grammar. Thus he has provided an all-embracing study of Sanskrit and Prakrits by writing the sūtras, the vṛtti, the appendices, the lexicons and the *lakṣaṇakāvya.* In this way he scored over the writers of

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the *Cāndra* of Candragomi (5th cent.), the Jainendra of Pūjyapāda Devanandi, (c.A.D.650), the śabdaśāstra of Śākaṭāyana, (c.A.D. 850), and the Bhoja-vyākaraṇa (c.A.D.1030-1050) ascribed to Parmāra Bhoja of Dhārā.

IV

I will now attempt to evaluate Hemacandra as a grammarian, his approach towards language, and as a structuralist with a particular style of marshalling his material.

That he removed the Vedic grammar from his scheme is not because he was a Jaina but the truth was that the Vedic language was employed only in the ritual ceremonies and the teaching of its derivation had become obsolete in his times. On the other hand, a large variety of Prakrits were still used in literary circles who composed in people's language. Thus, by replacing the Vedic portion by the Prakrit portion, he has shown the awareness of the need of the hour, maturity of intellect, and consequently a right and realistic approach. It must be noted that, even though he removed the Vedic grammar from his scheme, he had paid due attention to the derivation of *taddhita* - words used in the Vedic context: e.g.

(i) कठादिभ्यो वेदे लुप् । सि.हे.श. ६-३-४८३ कठाः । चरकाः ।

(ii) तित्तिरिवरतन्तुखाण्डिकोखाद् ईयण् । ६-३-१८४ तैत्तिरीयाः । वारतन्तवीयाः ।

(iii) आथर्वणिकादण् इकलुक् च । ६-३-१६७ आथर्वणिक - आथर्वणः ।

Thus did he demonstrate a sensible orientation toward the problem: as a result, his works may be studied not only by the Jainas but also by the Brahmins. Had he neglected the *taddhita* formations having Vedic context, his grammar would have been of limited scope and sectarian in outlook.

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We notice that, in the post-Pāṇinian era, there is a sea-change in the use of written Sanskrit, both in literary compositions[7] and in the puranic context. It is a narrow-minded approach to call such a usage as 'a-Pāṇiniya' and therefore 'a-sādhu' or faulty. The *lakṣaṇa*-theory should be in conformity with the *lakṣya*, i.e. written literature. That language comes first and grammar follows is a universal axiom. Thus it is a rare intellectual effort on his part to promote and accept such usages as are, so to say, un-Pāṇinian, i.e. falling out of Pāṇini's discipline. This, in point of fact, is a commendable happening.

V

However, his originality in laying down new grammatical and Śāstric works has to be properly evaluated, because works in those directions by Pāṇini, Gautama, Kaṇāda etc. were for certain available. What is then, Hemacandra's original contribution ? He himself has answered this question. He inquires as to whether even prior to Pāṇini, Piṅgala, or Kaṇāda, sūtras of the subjects they dealt with existed or not. This indeed is a pertinent point he had raised. Now, these lores of grammar, logic, philosophy etc. apparently are beginningless. Who has brought forth expansion or contraction in what field and how ? Only on the basis of a critical consideration of such a querry the originality of a particular author may be evaluated[8]. Again, the nouns and verbs used in a given language have got to be identical and fixed. We may, for instance, resort to *'La'-kāras* such as लट् (Laṭ) etc., with reference to भू - *Bhū* - and derive forms such as भवति etc. by suffixes such as तिप् etc., substituted as *ādeśas*. Or, we may straight away place the suffix ति to भू (root) and derive भवति । In either case, 'भवति' remains 'भवति' ! There can be two different methods of deriving forms or word-formation but the

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output, namely भवति, is to remain the same ! Thus, whether we study Cāndra, or Bhoja, or Haima-vyākaraṇa, रामः - रामौ- रामाः । and भवति-भवतः-भवन्ति । are to remain as they are the same. Because of this Bhaṭṭoji says : उपेयप्रतिपत्त्यर्था उपाया अव्यवस्थिताः (वैयाकरणभूषणसारे स्फोटनिर्णयः-६७) i.e. for attaining *upeya* — the goal — *upāyas* i.e. methods can be different[9]. We cannot insist on just one methodology. Thus any number of new 'a-Pāṇinian' grammar were welcome. The thrust of examining could be only the process with which a particular grammarian derives a particular form. Is it that he uses the same procedure in deriving both a nominal form and a verbal form ? At least one would expect similarity in style with any structuralist. Viewed from this angle, I may say that Hemacandra has not stuck to identical methodology in his Siddha-Hema-Śabdānuśāsana e.g., while dealing with nominal formation, he has taken the 21 case-terminations as basic morphemes and has presented the allo-morphemes in consonance with the structure of a given basic noun[10]. To put it in a technical jargon, we may say that he has explained the nominal formations by the device, namely "a particular *ādeśa* takes shape in place on a particular *sthānin*". On the other hand, the 18 terminations (9 *Parasmaipada* + 9 *Ātmanepada*) that are attached to a verb are taken as basic morphemes and has not explained the allo-morphemes that take shape later. What is surprising, Hemacandra has placed in all 180 terminations expressing ten tenses and moods as basic morphemes[11]. As against this, Pāṇini had used an identical device of *Sthānyā-deśa-bhāva* in the formation of nouns and verbs (=Subanta and tiṅanta). So it can be said that, while Pāṇini has been able to observe structural identity, Hemacandra had not, which, from a purely intellectual point of view, sounds less appealing. Of course, one may explain away this defficiency

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by suggesting that the factor of simplification was involved here. But then the question remains as to why was this simplification not attempted by Hemacandra with reference to nominal formations. This question then, remains unanswered.

VI

In Pāṇini's scheme, the statement of various Kārakas proceeds and prescription of vibhakti -affixes follows. Then is described how the whole thing is represented at the surface level phonologically. Again, any nominal formation has to be explained with reference to some verb only. Thus, Pāṇini has given a grammar of sentence-level; i.e. the *vākya-saṁskāra-pakṣa* has been followed by Pāṇini. In Hemacandra's grammar, such single and detached forms as रामः, काष्ठैः, are to be derived without verbal context and therefore without consideration of the sentence level. This is absolutely illogical. In Hemacandra's grammar the *sutras* such as भिसः ऐस् । सि. हे. श. १-४-२, एद् बहुस्भोसि । १-४-४ and टा- ङ सौरिन-स्यौ । १-४-५ come first and then क्रियाहेतुः कारकम् । २-२-१ नाम्नः प्रथमैकद्विबहौ । २-२-३१ etc. follow. It thus becomes clear that Hemacandra has not promoted the natural vākya-saṁskāra-pakṣa or sentence-level and has promulgated the *pada-saṁskāra-pakṣa* which is not a natural phenomenon.

Third, one who studies Pāṇinian system of grammar has to study the vārttikas and the *Bhāsyeṣṭi-vacanas* separately, and has to harmonize them all. But Hemacandra has taken those vārttikas and has placed the same as sūtras in his work. So, for a student of the *Siddha-Hema-Śabdānuśasana*, only the study of sūtras (*sūtrapāṭha*) is sufficient. However Hemacandra has not freed his *sūtrapāṭha* from the requirements of a *prakriyā-grantha*.

If a grammarian attempts a new grammar with a view on simplification, then he has to lay down grammar which follows

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topics methodically without the necessity of the rearrangement of *prakriyā-grantha*. But Hemacandra has failed to provide this, e.g. in the 7th chapter, 4th pada of the *Siddhahemaśabd ānuśāsana*, he has provided meta-rules e.g.

(i) पञ्चाम्या निर्दिष्टे परस्य । सि.हे.श. ७-४-१०४

(ii) षष्ठ्याऽन्त्यस्य । ७-४-१०६

(iii) सप्तम्या पूर्वस्य । ७-४-१०५

(iv) परः । ७-४-११८

(v) स्पर्धे । ७-४-११९ etc.

Thus he has placed the paribhāṣā-sūtra, i.e. meta-rules concerning how to explain a noun-phrase ending in fifth case or seventh case, at the end, or also rules — as to which sutra is to be taken as more powerful in case of a conflict between two sūtras — are also placed at the end of his grammar ! Actually, these explanations should have been in the beginning of a work and not at the end ! Thus as a structuralist his arrangement of the sūtras, too, is imperfect.

VII

Hemacandra's originality and his being exceptional, however, are borne out by his adding the Prakrit grammar and writing the *Dvyāśrayakāvya* to illustrate it. But it will be interesting to know Hemacandra's views on whether Prakrit was derived from Sanskrit or was Prakrit the original language at the root of Sanskrit ? He on sūtra अथ प्राकृतम् । ८-१-१ writes प्रकृतिः संस्कृतम् । तत्र भवं, तत आगतं प्राकृतम् ? संस्कृतानन्तरं प्राकृतमधिक्रियते ।

Thus for him Sanskrit is the original प्रकृति, language. Prakrit is that which is derived from (the root language) Sanskrit. Some scholars are of the opinion that the Prakrit spoken at

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popular level as parallel to Vedic Sanskrit was the origin of Sanskrit. But, for a grammarian who attempts a descriptive grammar, it becomes easier to delineate Prakrit by taking Sanskrit as the root language and explaining Prakrit forms by rules of phonological changes in letters. So, Hemacandra's approach seems practical and to the context. One more aspect of Hemacandra's Prakrit-grammar is that it was he who had started for the first time taking notice of differences in forms following differences in meaning, e.g.

(i) क्षमायां कौ । सि. हे. श. ८-२-१८ (वृत्तिः) कौ पृथिव्यां वर्तमाने क्षमाशब्दे संयुक्तस्य छो भवति । 'छमा' पृथिवी । काविति किम् ? 'खमा' क्षान्ति : ।

(ii) क्षण उत्सवे । सि. हे. श. ८-२-२० (वृत्तिः) क्षणशब्दे उत्सवाभिधायिनि संयुक्तस्य छो भवति । छणो ॥ उत्सव इति किम् - खणो ।

(iii) चतुर्थ्याः षष्ठी । सि.हे.श. ८-३-१३१ (वृत्तिः) ङेवस्य ॥ चतुर्थ्याः स्थाने षष्ठी भवति । मुणिस्स । नमो

(iv) तादर्थ्यङेर्वा । सि.हे.श. ८-३-१३२ (वृत्तिः) तादर्थ्यविहितस्य ङेश्चतुर्थ्येकवचनस्य स्थाने षष्ठी वा भवति ॥ देवस्स । देवाय ॥

Here the Sanskrit word (क्षमा) *kṣamā* has two types of modifications in Prakrit e.g. *chamā* (छमा) and *khamā* (खमा) : but there is difference in connotation. Same is the case with kṣaṇa (क्षण), which becomes *chaṇa* (छण) and *khaṇa* (खण) in Prakrit with two different meanings. Vararuci, in his *Prākṛtaprakāśa*, does not take note of such cases. Here it is noted that, in Prakrit, the sixth (possessive) case is used for fourth (dative) case. But Hemacandra is the first to pass a note that only the fourth case ending takes the shape of the sixth case

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ending which denotes a recipient, and the fourth case ending which denotes *tādarthya* continues as the fourth case ending in Prakrit. Thus, also, as a Prakrit grammarian, Hemacandra is very watchful and clear in his treatment which is the result of his vast aquaintance of Prakrit literature. His equipment as a grammarian, thus is highly laudable.

Conclusion:

Hemacandra, as a grammarian, shows considerable originality. Precisely because of this, along with the Pañcāṅgī Vyākaraṇa, he has also given lexicons and the *Lakṣaṇa-kāvyas.* He gave śāstric recognition to such un-Pāṇinian usages that followed Pāṇini's era, and thus has sanctioned the growth and development in the field of language. He has left out Vedic grammar in consideration of the practical reasons. These are his scintillating achievements. On the other hand, he is not up to the standard as a structuralist and does not seem to abide by the outlook of the *vākya-saṁskāra-pakṣa.* He has given a grammar which is based on the *pada saṁskāra-pakṣa.* He has not maintained identical approach in the case of both verbal and nominal forms which can be both simplification as well as a structural failure. Even with this limitation, his achievements are great enough to proclaim him as कलिकालसर्वज्ञ - the Omniscient of the Iron Age.

ANNOTATIONS :

* The paper originally was read at the National Seminar on "Intellectual leaders in Sanskrit, Prakrit and Pali" (27-29 March, 1996), organized by the Department of Sanskrit, University of Poona, Pune. Since unpublished, with some revisions, it has been given for the Jagadishcandra Jain

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commemorative number of the *Nirgrantha. Vol-2,1996, p.p.35-42*

1. *History of Sanskrit Poetics,* Delhi 1961, pp. 288-289.
2. Actually, even earlier, from the time of the Bhīmadeva 1, keen rivalry between Gujarat and Mālava, had started and rulers Bhīma and Bhoja were not only political but also keenly intellectual. The poets and dialecticians from different parts of India used to visit this capital of Gurajaradeśa where their literary and dialectical talents were put to test. See : *Kavyanusasana,* Vol. II, "Introduction" Rasiklal C. Parikh, Bombay 1938, p. ccxlii - ccxliii.
3. "अनलङ्कृती पुनः क्वापि" were Mammaṭa's words, which were replaced by Hemacandra, by सालङ्कारौ च a more positive approach. This brings him closer to earlier poeticists. But, even with this unconfirmity, Hemacandra was a great exponent of the Dhvani-School and followed Mammaṭa at every step. He saw to it that the Ānanda-Abhinava based Kāśmīra tradition in poetics took roots in Gujarat through his *Kāvyānuśāsana,* the *Alankāracūḍāmaṇi,* and the *Viveka* commentaries, and thus almost routed the Mālava tradition of Bhoja from Gujarat. *Vide :- Bhāratīya Sāhitya Śāstra ni Vicāraparamparāo* (Gujarātī), Ahmedabad 1984, p.51.
4. किमेतदिति पप्रच्छ स्वाम्यपीति व्यजिज्ञपत् ।
भोजव्याकरणं ह्येतच्छब्दशास्त्रं प्रवर्तते ॥७६॥

भूपालोऽथावदत् किं नास्मत्कोशे शास्त्रपद्धतिः ।
विद्वान्कोऽपि कथं नास्ति देशे विश्वेऽपि गूर्जरे ॥७९॥

सर्वे संभूय विद्वांसो हेमचन्द्रं व्यलोकयन् ।
महाभक्त्या च राज्ञासावभ्यर्थ्य प्रार्थितः प्रभुः ॥ ८० ॥

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शब्दव्युत्पत्तिकृच्छास्त्रं निर्मायास्मान्मनोरथम् ।
पूरयस्व महर्षे त्वं विना त्वमत्र कः प्रभुः ॥ ८१॥

– द्रष्टव्यम् : चन्द्रप्रभसूरिप्रणीतं प्रभावकचरितम्, सं. हिरानन्द शर्मा (प्रथमो भागः), मुंबई १९०९, पृ.३००.

५. मेरूतुङ्गाचार्यकृतः प्रबन्धचिन्तामणिः, सं. रामचन्द्रो दीनानाथ शास्त्री, मुंबई १८८८, पृ.१४८

६. संक्षिप्तश्च प्रवृत्तोऽयं समयेऽस्मिन् कलापकः ।
लक्षणं तत्र निष्पत्तिः शब्दानां नास्ति तादृशी ॥८२ ॥

पाणिनेर्लक्षणं वेदस्यांगमित्यत्र च द्विजाः ।
अवलेपादसूयन्ति कोऽर्थस्तैरून्मनायितैः ॥८३॥

यशो मम तव ख्यातिः पुण्यं च मुनिनायक ।
विश्वलोकोपकाराय कुरु व्याकरणं नवम् ॥८४॥

इत्याकर्ण्याभ्यधात् सूरिर्हेमचन्द्रः सुधीनिधिः ।
कार्येषु नः किलोक्तिर्वः स्मारणायैव केवलम् ॥८५॥

श्रीहेमसूरयोऽप्यत्रालोक्य व्याकरणव्रजम् ।
शास्त्रं चक्रुर्नवं श्रीमत्सिद्धहेमाख्यमद्भुतम् ॥ ८६॥

– द्रष्टव्यम् : प्रभावकचरितम् (पृ.३००–३०२)

७. See : ऋते द्वितीया च । सि. हे. श. २–२–११४
(लघुवृत्तिः) ऋतेशब्देन युक्ताद् द्वितीया पञ्चमी च स्यात् ।
ऋते धर्मं धर्मात् कुतः सुखम् ॥ – सिद्धहेमशब्दानुशासनम्, सं. मुनि हिमांशुविजयः, आणन्दजी कल्याणजी पेढी प्रकाशितम्, अहमदाबाद १९५०, A.D.(पृ.८६)

८. ननु यदि भवदीयानीमानि जैनसिद्धान्तसूत्राणि तर्हि भवतः पूर्वं कानि किमीयानि वा तान्यासन्निति ? अत्यल्पमिदमन्वयुङ्क्थाः । पाणिनि–पिङ्गल–कणादा–क्षपादादिभ्योऽपि पूर्वं कानि किमीयानि वा

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व्याकरणादिसूत्राणीत्येतदपि पर्यनुयुङ्क्ष्व ! अनादय एवेता विद्याः संक्षेपविस्तरविवक्षया नवनवीभवन्ति तत्तत्कर्तृकोश्चोच्यन्ते ॥ - द्रष्टव्या : प्रमाणमीमांसा, सं पण्डित सुखलालजी, प्रकाशन : सिंधी जैन ग्रन्थमाला, अहमदाबाद १९३९ A.D. (पृ.१).

9. See उपेयप्रतिपत्त्यर्था उपाया अव्यवस्थिताः - इति न्यायेन व्याकरणभेदेन स्थानिभेदेऽपि न क्षतिः, देशभेदेन लिपिभेदवदिति दिक् ॥ - परमलघुमञ्जूषा, चौखम्बा संस्कृत सीरीझ, वाराणसी १९७४ A.D. (पृ.५).

१०. स्यौजसमौशस्टाभ्यांभिस्ङे भ्यांभ्यस्ङसिभ्यांभ्यस्ङसोसाम्ङ्योसूसुपां त्रयी त्रयो प्रथमादिः । सि. हे. श. १-१-१८
- ङे ङस्योर्याऽऽतौ । १-४-६ (ङे -य, रामाय)
- सर्वादेः स्मैमातौ । १-४-७ (ङे -स्मै - सर्वस्मै)
- आपो ङित्तां यैयास्यास् १-४-१७ (ङे - यै, मालायै)

११. वर्तमाना तिव् तस् अन्ति, सिव् थस् थ् मिव, वस्, ते आते अन्ते, से आथे ध्वे, ए वहे महे ॥ सि. हे.श. ३-३-६
ह्यस्तनी दिव् ताम् अन् सिव् तम् त, अम्व् व म, त आताम अन्त, थास् आथाम् ध्वम् इ वहि महि ॥ सि. हे. श. ३-३-९
परोक्षा णव् अतुस् उस् थव् अथुस् अ,णव् व म,
ए आते इरे, से आथे, ध्वे, ए वहे महे ॥ सि. हे. श. ३-३-१२

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8

INFLUENCE OF LISTENERS ON BĀṆA BHAṬṬA'S HARṢACARITAM

0.0 Prefatory:

A closer look at the poetic compositions of Mahākavi Kālidāsa, Bāṇa, Bhavabhūti and the rest might have inspired the Ālaṅkārikas or critics to enlist as causes of poetry, śakti or genius, expertise born of a sterner acquaintance with loka, i.e. the affairs of the work-a-day world, śāstra-s or various branches of learning, and kāvya, i.e. poetic compositions of masters, etc. The expertise was also born of the instructions from those who knew kāvya.[1] In view of this, the position in *Ucchvāsa* I of the Harṣa caritam *(HC)* given by Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa as part of his autobiography has to be watched more carefully.

0.1 In the beginning of his *HC* Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa observes that he lost his mother at the time of his birth and his father at the age of fourteen only, and so he was very unhappy. Then, getting engaged in a lot of fun natural to his childhood, he became almost a wanderer.[2] As a result he came into direct touch with people from different walks in the society. He had also a chance of himself observing rivers and hills, woods and gardens, huts, hermitages and palaces and what not, on account of his wandering around in different countries. He had a direct

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aquaintance with the manifold social practices and beliefs. Thus Bāṇa seems to have observed life critically and steadily quite at an early age, a factor critics normally expect of a writer. Sure, Bāṇa must have been gifted with natural inborn talent, but basically his knowledge of life around and of people's behaviour was also a must in his making as a writer.

0.2 So, after a long wandering abroad, on returning home, there is a description of Bāṇa's meeting with his kith and kin, and the days of leisure, wherein it is noted that Bāṇa was listening to a manuscript of the *Vāyu-purāṇa* by a reader, named Sudṛṣṭi.[3] He must have also listened, in the days of his roaming around, to the stories from Mahābhārata, that were read on pious occasions in sacred places, such as Ujjayini and the like.[4] Thus it is suggested that our poet Bāṇa had a go at such epics as the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata,* and also at the Purāṇa-literature.

0.3 But we can well inquire as to what was Bāṇa's position in view of Mammaṭa's observation of *lokaśāstrakāvyādya vekṣaṇā* ? (Though of course Mammaṭa does not precede Bāṇa, here Mammaṭa stands for any senior Ālaṅkārika worth his name.) How much was he equipped in Śāstric knowledge ? For, as observed earlier, though he had an easy chance of acquiring in various branches in his own house, yet guided by a wander-lust he had left home for places far off ! Now, in view of this, did he acquire Śāstric learning or not ? In this context in the first Ucchvāsa it is observed that as he came back in the residence of the Brāhmins at his native place, he recovered his original self with natural learning and Śāstric competence that was befitting his family,[6] So, perhaps it is clear that while roaming around, he had gathered sufficient learning at various places.

1.1 So, when we read either in the *Kādambarī* or in the *Harṣa carita* the descriptions of Sunset, or of a lake, or of the

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marching of an army, or of a court-room with its proceedings, or when we read the advice of the Minister Śukanāsa or the friendly word from Kapiñjala, we are convinced of his keen, sharp and close observation of people's behaviour.

1.2 While describing the superiority of Harṣa on account of his spotless career over others such as Nahuṣa who was a 'Mahābhujaṅga' maligned as he was by contact with some-one else's wife, over Yayāti who had a fall due to hit marriage with a Brahmin lady, and over Yudhiṣṭhira who, afraid of the wrath of Droṇa, let go his vow of truth, Bāṇa observes that in case of nobody else than Harṣa, the kingship was absolutely spotless.[6] Bāṇa's thorough knowledge of Purāṇic literature is revealed through such observations.

1.3 We may also study critically, such references wherein the knowledge of Śāstras is reflected in poetic compositions of Bāṇa On the face of it Bāṇa's capacity to write long sentences of a number of varieties, long compounds and various figures of speech such as *Upamā, Parisaṅkhyā, Rūpaka, Śleṣa, Utprekṣā* etc. are first-hand proof of his great learning. In the same vein, his use of terms such as *kāmaṇḍalavena* (p.3), *ḍuḍhauke* (p.13), *yāyajū-kajane* (p.37), *pasphāyire* (p.82), *jighṛkṣuḥ* (p.96) etc,[7] terms that seem to have been more current among the company of grammarians, also stand to corroborate his learning.

2.0 But the chief object of this article is to reveal the secret of his knowledge being the Pāṇinian system of grammar, in the making of this composition, viz. the *Harṣacaritam*.

2.1 Pāṇini in his aphorism 2.1,19,' viz. *saṁkhyā vaṁśyena,* lays down that the *subanta pada* suggesting *vaṁśya* is put with a *pada* suggesting the number of *saṁkhyā* while forming a compound. And that results in an *Avyayībhāva* compound; e.g. द्वौ

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मुनी व्याकरणस्य वंश्यौ इति द्विमुनि व्याकरणस्य। In the Kāśikā on this aphorism while explaining the terms vaṁśa and vaṁśya, it is observed - viz. विद्यया जन्मना वा प्राणिनामेकलक्षणसंतानो वंश इत्यभिधीयते। तत्र भवो वंश्यः ॥[8] It means that in the case of beings, the current having identical characteristics due to learning or birth is called *vaṁśa* (e.g. *vidyāvaṁśa* such as *vaiyākaraṇavaṁśa*, and *janmavaṁśa* such as *brāhmaṇavaṁśa*. Beings born in this line are called *vaṁśya*.

There is another sūtra from Pāṇini (4.3.77), which runs as विद्यायोनिसम्बन्धेभ्यो वुञ्। This aphorism informs that the relation on account of either learning or progeny, is expressed by words describing the same, in the meaning of " that which is derived there of, or is obtained thereof, "with the help of the suffix vuñ *(aka)* e.g. उपाध्यायादागतमिति औपाध्यायकम् (ज्ञानम्)। This is an illustration of relation due to learning. Similarly, मातामहादागत इति मातामहकः is an illustration of *yonisambandha* or relation of progency.[9] (The Bhāṣyakāra has mentioned two varieties of *yoni-vaṁśa* such as *mātṛ-vaṁśa* and *pitṛ-vaṁśa*. See : Mahābhāṣya on 4.1.147)

In a third aphorism 6. 3. 23, viz. ऋतो विद्यायोनिसम्बन्धेभ्यः, Pāṇini observes that there is an Aluk-samāsa of the sixth termination at the end of a term expressing either *yoni*-relation. or *vidyā*-relatlon, e.g. *hotur antevāsī* and *hotuḥ putraḥ*. Here, Haradatta in the commentary *Padamañjarī* observes that the Sūtrakāra has mentioned *vidyā* first, because out of the two viz. *vidyā* and *yoni*, the former is more respectable [10] Thus it is clear that right from the days of Pāṇini two types of clans are recognized. It seems Bāṇa begins. his HC under the influence of these sūtras.

2.2 Bāṇa, to describe his clan, begins with *Brahmaloka*. The story describes how Sarasvati was cursed by Durvāsas and how after coming down to this earth, she married Dadhīca and after delivering Sārasvata, returnrd to the heaven. Dadhīca handed

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over the son to his cousin's wife Akṣaya-mālā and resorted to practising penance. This lady had a son called Vatsa who was also brought up with this Sārasvata, who was naturally well-versed in the Vedas and all scriptures due to Sārasvati's grace. He passed on all this learning to his friend Vatsa who was the pioneer of a clan called Vātsyāyana, and in which were born Kubera, Pāśupata, Arthapati and Citrabhānu in order, Bāṇa was born of Citrabhānu. Thus Bāṇa is Sārasvata from the point of *vidyā-vaṁśa;* and *Vātsyāyana* from the point of *pitṛ-vaṁśa.* Thus the two-fold clan is described in the first Ucchvāsa of the *HC,*

Again, as observed by Haradatta, the *vidyā-vaṁśa* being more important, Bāṇa has also described the *vidyā-vaṁśa* first. After saying that he is Sārasvata in the *vidyā-vaṁśa,* he says that he is *Vātsyāyana* in the *pitṛvaṁśa.*[11]

After understanding the description of the two fold clan in the beginning of the *HC,* the import of the saying *'vaṇī bāṇo babhūva'* will also become crystal-clear !

Admirers of literature such as Vāsudeva Śaraṇa Agravāla observe that Bāṇa has given the account of Sarasvati only to ornate his writing with an opening in the Purāṇic style.[13] But this observation does not stand good in view of the above consideration of Vyākaraṇa-learning. Bāṇa precisely wanted to describe *vidya-vaṁśa* first and *pitṛ-vaṁśa* next, in keeping with Śāstric practice. Thus Bāṇa's deep knowledge of the Pāṇinian system of grammar had directly influenced his creative activity.

3.0 While dealing with sūtras that explain the formation of various compounds, Pāṇini observes at 2-1.6, viz. अव्ययं विभक्तिसमीपसमृद्धिव्युद्धयर्थाभावात्ययासम्प्रतिशब्दप्रादुर्भाव पश्चाद्यथानुपूर्व्य यौगपद्यसादृश्यसम्पत्तिसाकल्यान्तवचनेषु । It says that an *avyaya* - indeclinable - having senses such as "of an inflective affix

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(vibkakti)," or "of near to," or "prosperity," or "adversity," or "absence of the thing," or "departure," or "not now," or " the production of some sound, "or "after," or "according to" or "order of arrangement," or "simultaneousness," or "likeness," or "possession" or "totality," or "termination," when compounded with a *subanta-pada* gives rise to an *Avyayībhāva-Samāsa,* e.g. *kumbhasya samīpam iti upakumbham* with samīpam as its meaning, etc.

Explaining the *śabda-prādurbhāva* illustration, the Kāśikākāra, observes :

शब्दप्रादुर्भावः = शब्दस्य प्रकाशता। इतिपाणिनि। तत्पाणिनि। – पाणिनिशब्दो लोके प्रकाशत इत्यर्थः।[13] It says that by śabda-prādurbhāva is meant the coming in to currency or usage of a given term, e. g. when it is suggested that the word 'Pāṇini' comes into light, the usage will take the shape, viz. *'itiPāṇini'* which is an *Avyayībhāva* compound. The meaning of this compound expression is that - "word such as 'Pāṇini' is current in popular usage."

The illustration viz. *'itiPāṇini'* cited by the author *of Kāśikā,* is restricted to the assemblage of grammarians alone and is the result of his personal respect for Pāṇini. He has 'not given any other illustration either from literature or popular parlance.

3.1 Now, in the fourth Ucchvāsa of the *HC* when Bāṇa starts describing the career of Harṣa, which was like second *Mahābhārata,* he observes that-

अथ चन्द्रसूर्याविव स्फुरज्ज्योत्सनायशः प्रतापाक्रान्तभुवनाभिरामदुर्निरीक्ष्यौ, अग्नि मारुताविव समभिव्यक्ततेजोबलावेकीभूतौ, शिलाकठिनकायबन्धौ हिमवद्विन्ध्याविवाचलौ..... राज्यवर्धन इति, हर्ष इति सर्वस्यामेव पृथिव्याम् आविर्भूतशब्दप्रादुर्भावौ, स्वल्पीयसैव कालेन द्वीपान्तरेष्यपि प्रकाशतां जग्मतुः।[14]

Here it is said that two *śabda-prādurbhāva-s* called

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"Rājyavardhana" and 'Harṣa' also came to light in worlds beyond !

Here when Bāṇa calls Rājyavardhana and Harṣa to be two *śabda-prādurbhāva-s*, the two sound units that came into currency, he seems to be clearly under Pāṇini's spell When Pāṇini observes अव्ययं विभक्तिसमीपसमृद्धिव्युद्धर्थाभावात्ययासम्प्रति शब्दप्रादुर्भावपश्चाद्यथानुपूर्व्य-यौगपद्यसादृश्यसम्पत्तिसाकल्यान्तवचनेषु । 2-1-6. Bāṇa makes a conscious attempt to use the term *śabda-prādurbhāva* as used by Pāṇini. Again explaining *itiPāṇini* the author of the *Kāśikā* says : *pāṇiniśabdo loke prakāśate.* Taking a clue from this, Bāṇa also has added *prakāśatāṁ jagmatuḥ* Thus Bāṇa sees to have made a conscious effort to use the term *śabdaprādurbhāva* in his *HC.*

3.2 When we say Bāṇa has made a "conscious effort ' we may also point out to the verse placed at the beginning of'the fourth Ucchvāsa. It reads :-

योगं स्वप्नेऽपि नेच्छन्ति, कुर्वते न करग्रहम् ।
महान्तो नाममात्रेण भवन्ति पतयो भुवः ॥

Here also 'Rājyavardhana' 'and 'Harṣa' are said to have become kings by their very names - by *śabdaprādurbhāva* alone ! Thus Bāṇa seems to have given a poetic form to his learning in grammar, thus he has as it were reflected, *Vyākaraṇa-śāstra* in *kāvya.*

3.3 This is also reflected in the third Ucchvāsa, when Bāṇa, after meeting the king Harṣa returns home, in the autumn season, his cousins such as Gaṇapati, Adhipati, Tārāpati and Śyāmala requested him to talk to them about Harṣa's doings. Thus, the first among Bāṇa's listeners are the four special people about whom the poet says that his four cousins, viz. Gaṇapati, Adhipati, Tārāpati, and Śyāmala have an easy grasp of the *Kāśikā-vṛtti,*

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have absorbed vākya i.e. *vārttika-s* and have studied *'nyāsa'* with reference to difficult words. They also know the maxims or *nyāya-s* in the form of paribhāṣā-s, and have become Guru-s (preceptors) by studying carefully the *Saṅgraha* by Vyāḍi[15] They have acquired the knowledge of *sādhupada-s*, i.e. such usages as are acceptable to *Vyākaraṇaśāstra* etc. There is the usual punning on words such as *vṛtti, guru, nyāya, saṅgraha, nyāsa, sādhu* etc. quite characteristic of Bāṇa.

The situation suggests that the listeners addressed by Bāṇa are grammarians of great eminence, and Bāṇa is conscious of the fact that his creative writing should please them.

4.0 At times Bāṇa chooses to defy *śāstra* also as in *ṣaṣṭhyā ākrośe* 6.3.21 where Aluk-samāsa formation is suggested. The illustration cited by Patañjali and Kāśikākāra is *devānāṁpriyaḥ*, but in a derogatory sense.[13] Now we know that in the Buddhist context it was used in its normal healthy sense.[17] Bāṇa uses this term twice in the *HC.* (Ch.I and Ch.VIII)[18] and at both the places he uses *devānāṁpriyaḥ* in the healthy Buddhist sense of the term thus defying *Vyākaraṇa-śāstra* ![19] Thus Bāṇa's creative talent shows enough mettle even to put aside the command of *Vyākaraṇa-śāstra !*

Some scholars such as Jivananda Bhattacharya have failed to get at this and have tried to tamper with the reading in Bāṇa turning it into *devānāṁ-budhasya* for *devānāṁpriyasya.*[20] Even Gajendragadkar in his *Bālabodhinī* fails to understand Bāṇa's thrust in the second illustration as cited above,[21] and V.S.Agrawal has chosen not to comment on this.[22]

Thus Bāṇa's genius not only conforms to the commands of *Vyākaraṇa-śāstra* but at times even defies the same and hence he is *"Śāstraparāvartaka"* both a reflector and also a

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pratyāvartaka - one who gives a rejoinder of śāstrājñā ! He seems to be both an observer and also at times a challenger, a follower and a demolisher of the Śāstra !

This is how Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa accomodates his style, at times, to the expectations of his listeners.*

Foot Note :

१. शक्तिर्निपुणता लोकशास्त्रकाव्याद्यवेक्षणात् ।
काव्यज्ञशिक्षयाभ्यास इति हेतुस्तदुद्भवे ॥
लोकस्य स्थावरजङ्गमात्मकस्य लोकवृत्तस्य, शास्त्राणां छन्दोव्याकरणाभिधानकोशकलाचतुर्वर्गगजतुरग- खड्गादिलक्षणग्रन्थानाम्, काव्यानाञ्च महाकविसम्बन्धिनाम्, आदिग्रहणादितिहासादीनां च विमर्शनाद् व्युत्पत्तिः । **काव्यप्रकाशः** (सं. आचार्य विश्वेश्वर, ज्ञानमण्डल लिमिटेड, वाराणसी, १९८६), पृ.१६-१७

२. शैशवोचितान्यनेकानि चापलान्याचरन्नित्वरो बभूव । **हर्षचरितम्** (सं.पी.वी.काणे, मोतीलाल बनारसीदास, दिल्ली, १९८६), पृ.१९.

३. अत्रान्तरे..... पुस्तकवाचकः सुदृष्टिराजगाम । ..... गीत्या पवमानप्रोक्तं पुराणं पपाठ ॥ - **हर्षचरितम्** (सं.पी.वी.काणे), पृ.३९.

४. अद्य तु चतुर्दशीति भगवन्तं महाकालमर्चितुमितो गतया तत्र महाभारते वाच्यमाने श्रुतमपुत्राणां किल न सन्ति लोकाः । कादम्बरी *(Ed.by Peter Peterson, Part-I, Bombay, 1985), p.61*

५. विदग्धमण्डलानि च गाहमानः, पुनरपि तामेव वैपश्चितीमात्मवंशोचितां प्रकृतिमभजत् ॥ **हर्षचरितम्**, प्रथमोच्छ्वासः (सं.पी.वी.काणे), पृ.१९-२०

6. युधिष्ठिरो गुरुभयविषण्णहृदयः समरशिरसि सत्यम् उत्सृष्टवान् । इत्थं नास्ति राजत्वमपकलङ्कमृते देवदेवादमुतः सर्वद्वीपभुजो हर्षात् । **हर्षचरितम्**, तृतीयोच्छ्वासः (सं.पी.वी.काणे), पृ.४०

७. See : **हर्षचरितम्** - (Ed. by p. V. Kane, Pub. Motilal

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८. See : **काशिकावृत्तिः** द्वितीयो भागः (सं.द्वारिकादासः शास्त्री, कालिकाप्रसादः शुक्लः, प्राच्यभारती प्रकाशन, वाराणसी, १९६५) पृ.३६

९. See : **काशिकावृत्तिः** चतुर्थो भागः (सं. द्वारिकादासः शास्त्री, कालिकाप्रसादः शुक्लः, तारा पब्लीकेशन, वाराणसी, १९६६) पृ.६७०

१०. विद्या च योनिश्च विद्यायोनी । अभ्यर्हितत्वाद्विद्यायाः पूर्वनिपातः । तत्कृतः सम्बन्धो येषां ते विद्यायोनिसम्बन्धाः । – **पदमञ्जरी** (काशिकावृत्तिः पञ्चमो भागः, तारा पब्लीकेशन, वाराणसी, १९६७) पृ.२११

11. Compare : प्रजानां विनयाधानाद् रक्षणाद् भरणादपि ।
स पिता, पितरस्तासां केवलं जन्महेतवः ॥ रघुवंशम् (१.२४)

१२. **हर्षचरितः एक सांस्कृतिक अध्ययन,** डो. वासुदेवशरण अग्रवाल (बिहार राष्ट्रभाषा परिषद्, राजेन्द्रनगर, पटना–४, द्वितीय संस्करण, १९६४), पृ.१२, २५

13. **काशिकावृत्तिः,** द्वितीयो भागः (सं. शास्त्री शुक्लश्च । तारा पब्लीकेशन, वाराणसी, १९६५) पृ.२२.

१४. द्रष्टव्यः **हर्षचरितम्,** चतुर्थोच्छ्वासः (सं.पी.वी. काणे, मोतीलाल बनारसीदास, दिल्ली, १९८६), pp. 65-66.

15. गणपतिरधिपतिस्तारापतिः श्यामल इति पितृव्यपुत्रा भ्रातरः, प्रसन्नवृत्तयो गृहीतवाक्याः कृतगुरुपदन्यासाः न्यायवेदिनः सुकृतसंग्रहाभ्यासगुरवो लब्धसाधुशब्दा लोक इव व्याकरणेऽपि..... महाविद्वांसः ..... पूर्वमेव कृतसङ्गराः विवक्षवः .....परस्परस्य मुखानि व्यलोकयन् । **हर्षचरितम्** (सं. काणे), पृ.39-40.

16. See : 'देवानांप्रिय इति च मूर्खे । (वा.) ६.३.२१ इत्यत्र वार्तिकम् । **सिद्धान्तकौमुदी** (See also व्याकरणमहाभाष्यम् on 2.4.56)

17. इय (०) धंमलिपी देवानां पिं (प्रि)यदसिना राञा लेख(।) पि (ता) (I) I See: *प्राचीन भारतीय अभिलेखोंका अध्ययन,* वासुदेवशरण अग्रवाल

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(मोतीलाल बनारसीदास, दिल्ली, १९६१) पृ.२८७.

18. (क) सौजन्यपरतन्त्रा चेयं देवानांप्रियस्यातिभद्रता कारयति कथां, न तु युवतिजने सहोत्था तरलता ।(प्रथमोच्छ्वासः, पृ.११)

(ख) इहापि जन्मनि दत्तमेवास्माकममुना तपःक्लेशेन पलम् असुलभदर्शनं दर्शयतां देवानांप्रियम् । आ तृप्तेः पीतम् अमृतमीक्षणाभ्याम् ॥ *(हर्षचरितम्, अष्टमोच्छ्वासः, पृ.१२९)*

१९. देवानांप्रियस्येति पूजावचनम् । हर्षचरितम्, शङ्करप्रणीतेन संकेतेन सहितम् (Ed. by A.A. Fuhrer, Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series, No. LXVI, Bombay, 1909), Page 40

20. सौजन्यपरतन्त्रा चेयं देवानां बुधस्यातिभद्रता कारयति कथां... इत्यत्र जीवानन्दः – देवानां पूज्यानां युष्माकमित्यर्थः, अतिभद्रतातिश्येन शिष्टाचारः, बुधस्य विद्वज्जनस्य, भवत इत्यर्थः । समीपे इति शेष; (बुधस्य इत्यत्र प्रियस्य इति पाठे प्रियस्य प्रियजनस्य समीपे इति भावः ।) कथां कारयति..... ॥ हर्षचरितम् (संपादक : टीकाकारश्च श्रीजीवानन्द – विद्यासागर – भट्टाचार्यः, कलकत्ता, १९३९) पृ.६४.

२१. अस्माच्च (२-४-५६) भाष्याद् देवानां प्रियशब्दस्य निन्दात्वे न विवादः । कथमयं शब्दोऽशोकप्रभृतिभिश्चकवर्त्तिभिः स्वबिरुदावलौ निवेशित इति महागूढं बाणसदृशेन सर्वशास्त्रापारंगतेन च स्वकाव्ये उपयोजित इति न जानीमः । हर्षचरितम्, ४-८ उच्छ्वासात्मके भागः । सेतुमाधव-गजेन्द्रगडकरेण विरचितया बालबोधिन्याख्यया टीकया समलंकृतम् । (प्रका. ए.पी.बापट, पुणे), पृ.२२५.

२२. (१) पाणिनिकालीन भारतवर्ष (प्रका. मोतीलाल बनारसीदास, वि.सं. २०१२, प्रथम संस्करण)

(२) हर्षचरित : एक सांस्कृतिक अध्ययन, ले. श्री-वासुदेवशरण अग्रवाल, (प्रका. बिहार राष्ट्रभाषा परिषद, पटना, १९६४) पृ.२३, १९९

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9

SOME PROBLEMS CONCERNING A CRITICAL EDITION OF THE *ABHIJṄĀNAŚĀ(ŚA)KUNTALAM*

Introduction :

Literature written in Sanskrit is as it were a fertile land for research. Hard work in that direction is likely to yield rich harvest. But there are clear evidences to indicate that the text of works written in that language, in whatever form by the original writer, has been in course of time, tampered with - emended with additions, omissions and alterations. Thus the original reading has been rendered corrupt. The obvious reason is that the text of the original works of writers, has been transmitted through a tradition of copyists busy preparing copies of the original and then copies of copies of copies and so on. The autograph of the original writer has sunk into oblivion due to gap of centuries, and so it is, in most cases, not traceable today. Naturally the text transmitted through the process of copying would mostly be full of impurities due to alterations etc. So text-criticism attempts to collate all available manuscripts, and tries to come at the original reading, clearing all impurities that have crept in due to additions, alterations etc. during the long period of time.

1. Five versions of the Śākuntalam

Looking into all available editions of the *Abhijñāna-śa(śā?) kuntalam,* one point that emerges as principal, is that there are at least two recensions of this text viz. (i) the shorter

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one and (ii) the longer one. The shorter recension seems to have been retained in the (a) Devānagarī script and (b) the Southern scripts. The longer one is retained in three viz. (c) the Kāśmīrī version, (d) the Maithilī version and (e) the Banāglī version. So, the logical derivation is that the text of *Abhijñānaśa (śā?) kuntala,* bedecked with readings of unequal merit from the point of view of literary beauty, is five-fold !

The details concerning some printed editions following this or that recension could be placed as follows :

(1) Monier Williams brought forth a Critical Edition of the Devānagarī version in 1853 A.D. Its second edition was out in 1876 A.D. (The Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, Varanasi has published its 3rd edition in 1961 A.D.). The editor prepared his text on the strength of three to four manuscripts (mss.) procured by him from Eastern, Western and Southern parts of India and two more mss. written in Baṅgālī script. He also made use of three commentaries written by Kāṭayavema, Śaṅkara and Candraśekhara respectively. He also said that he has consulted these three commentaries before fixing any reading[1].

But unfortunately none of the three commentaries, he utilized was on the mss. of A.Śa. available in the Devanāgarī script. Kāṭayavema follows Southern version, Śaṅkara, the Maithilī and Candraśekhara, the Baṅgālī. Monier Williams has not made use of Rāghava Bhaṭṭa's commentary available on the Devanāgarī version. On the contrary, he could not secure this one. So, the result is that his text following the Devanāgarī version shows some readings found in the Baṅgāī version ! e.g. आगामिनि चतुर्थदिवसे पुत्रपिण्डपालनो नामोपवासो भविष्यति । (M.W. p. 90), Here the Devanāgarī verson has प्रवृत्तपारणो. In इमं देवताशेषापदेशेन सुमनोगोपितं कृत्वाऽस्य हस्तं प्रापयिष्ययामि । (M.W. p. 115) the Devanāgarī, i.e. one followed by Rāghva Bhaṭṭa reads:

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देवताप्रसादस्यापदेशेन. That the M.W. Edition represents the Critical Text of the Devanāgarī version, can not be accepted to-day. (Shri Patankar has put in a great effort in this direction).

(2) Dr. S.K. Belvalkar prepared the Critical Text based on the Kāśmīrī version of the A.Śa. It was published by Sahitya Akadami, New Delhi in 1965 A.D. But due to his sad demise, the details concerning the Critical Apparatus utilized by him have not been furnished. Dr. V. Raghavan has placed a note in the short Introduction that this text follows the Kāśmīrī version.

Perhaps Dr. Belvalkar might have discussed the co-relation of the Kāśmīrī and Baṅgālī versions in his Introduction, which he has hinted at in some of his stray articles[2]. He is of the opinion that, not too longer, or not too shorter version of the love-scene of the third act should be accepted as Critical Text. So, he has not accepted the longer act III with 41 verses, as read in the Baṅgālī version, and also rejected the shorter one of 21 verses, as seen in the Devanāgarī version. But he has selected the Kāśmīrī version with 24 verses, which also includes some three to four passages and the verse: 21, त्वं दूरमपि गच्छन्ती हृदयं न जहासि मे । दिनावसानच्छायेव पुरोमूलं वनस्पतेः ॥ as read in the Baṅgālī version.[3]

(3) Prof. Ramanath Jha prepared a text published by Mithila Vidyapeeth, Darbhanga, Edition, 1957 A.D. The text accepted and edited, follows the Maithilī version. This edition contains two commentaries by Śaṅkara and Narahari, respectively called Rasacandrikā and Śākuntalaṭippaṇa. In this version there is a speech by Sūtradhāra, viz.आर्ये ! रसभावविशेषदीक्षागुरोः श्रीविक्रमादित्यस्य साहसाङ्कस्याभिरूपभूयिष्ठा परिषत् । अस्यां च कालिदासग्रथितवस्तुना..... । Which follows the nāndī-śloka. Beginning with this point, Prof. Jha has discussed in the Introduction (pp. 20-25) the differences as read in the Maithilī and Baṅgalī versions

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(4) Richard Pischel brought out an edition in 1876 A.D. of the *Abhijñānaśakuntalam* following Baṅgālī version. It was published as Vol. XVI of the Harvard University (H.O.S. Series). Its second edition appeared in 1922 A.D. Actually the first translation of A.Śā. by Sir William John also followed the Baṅgalī version but that edition did not utilize the material used by Pischel. On the other hand Sir William John did not even know that there are more than one versions of the A.Śa.

In the Oxford University, Prof. Dilecp Kumar Kanjilal, prepared a new Critical Text of the A.Śa. which is published in 1980 A.D. by the Sanskrit College, Calcutta. The editor has tried to establish that the text preserved in the Baṅgālī version is the original text of Kālidāsa's A.Śa. The editor has used the highest number of mss. and almost all commentaries in the preparation of his Critical Text, the principal ms. being the 12th century old Nevārī ms., which is the oldest from the point of view of age. This oldest ms. has its readings supported by seven more Baṅgālī mss. The editor has also used four mss. written in the Śāradā script. He has used nearly sixteen commentaries and notes. He has given the title : "A Reconstruction of the Abhijñāna-Śakuntalam" to the Critical Text that he has prepared after looking into all these older mss., commentaries and also references from works on Sanskrit poetics.

(5) In the edition of Śākuntalam published by Śrī Vāṇī Vilāsa Press, Śri Raṅgam (1917 A.D. probably), we come across the Southern version. But this edition can not be called a critical one for there is no mention of the mss. material used in it. A number of commentators have written commentaries based on the Southern version, principal among them being the *Vasanta-rājīyā* of Kāṭayavema, the anonymous Carcā, and the *Śākuntala-vyākhya* by Śrī-Nivāsācārya. Also noteworthy is the editing of

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Sañjivana-Tippaṇa by Ghanaśyāma, done by Smt. Dr. Poonam Pankaj Raval. The task of preparing the Southern version of A.Śa., by utilizing all these commentaries is yet to be accomplished.

2. Various views about the five versions

Kālidāsa's A.Śā. is such a wonderful dramatic composition that has moved all lovers of literature of whatever time and place. It is this popularity which has given birth to the observation, viz. काव्येषु नाटकं रम्यं, तत्र रम्या शकुन्तला.....। etc. That it is perhaps one of the greatest achievements in drama and poetry, is beyond doubt, but there is not one opinion as to the nature of the autograph written by Poet-dramatist Kālidāsa. Even if a given single connoisseur tries to fix a reading of his choice, he is likely to be in two minds now and then ! Prof. Dileep K.Kanjilal rightly observes that, "It is in the *Abhijñāna-Śakuntalam* that the Indological world is both united and divided.[4]"

There are various views that have been floated regarding the five versions. Some of them are as follows: Monier Williams suggests that, most scholars accept the *Devanāgarī* version as old and pure, though Pischel and some others favour the Baṅgāli version. The author of *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* also favours this. Many mss. of the *Devanāgarī* version have been traced from North. The scribes in this region were not learned and therefore have copied faithfully as they did not know the meaning of the text concerned. The happy outcome of this is that they did not attempt any tempering with the original script. On the other hand the scribes in Bengal were learned with the result that they attempted additions, alterations and abridgement in the original text. The illustrations to prove this point are many but we may simply draw attention to the love-scene of the third act which is four to five times longer than the *Devanāgarī* version[5].

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The editor, Prof. Ramanath Jha holds that the edition of Śākuntala from the Mithila Vidyapeeth, Darbhanga carries the Maithilī version. He has made a comparative observation and has pointed out where the Maithlī reading differs from Pischel's edition, e.g. in the act. IV, the verses No. 2, 3, 4 & 5 in Pischel (यात्येकतोऽस्तशिखरं ०२, अन्तर्हिते शशिनि ०३, कर्कन्धूनामुपरि ०४, पादन्यासं क्षितिधरगुरोः०5) are read as verses No. 4, 5, 2, 3 in Maithii version. In Pischel, the purohita's name (Act-V) is Somarāta, in Maithilī, it is Somadatta. (for further discussion see pp. 20-25 Introduction by Dr. Jha.). But Dr. V. Raghavan observes in the same context, that even though Prof. Jha claims to have presented the *Maithilī* version, but such fifth version can not be separately established on solid grounds and this *Maithilī* reading can be accommodated in '*Baṅgālī - Kāśmīrī* family', for the readings seems to lean at times towards the *Baṅgālī* version and at times towards the *Kāśmīrī* version.[6]

*

The *Kāśmīrī* version mostly tallies with the *Baṅgālī* version, but points of difference are also many. But scholars of the eminence like S.K. Belvalkar opine that this version seems to contain the original reading at many places. He accepts that, not so long, not so short version of the love-scene in the third act, as preserved in the *Kāśmīrī* version, as the original reading[7]. Again, the MS. (B.O.R.I. Pune, No. 1875-76-1 No. 192) which he used to fix the Critical Text of the *Kāśmīrī* version, has reliable readings, and that it "has several acceptable readings....".[8] Thus, for S.K. Belvalkar the Kāśmīrī version seems to contain more genuine readings.

There is not much of a difference between the Southern version and the Devanāgarī version. Dr. Rewaprasad Dvivedi holds that the Southern version contains readings that tally, almost 90%, with the Devanāgarī version of the West. The result is

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that, in preparing the Critical Text he has found only the Devanāgarī version to be useful.[9]

After Prof. Richard Pischel placed the Critical Text following the Baṅgālī version, Dr. Dileep Kumar Kanjilal had an access to an oldest manuscript of Śākuntalā[10]. He also collected all available other mss. and using practically all commentaries, he established the Baṅgālī version as the original one. But on a closer study he has also expressed an opinion that in case of Śākuntala, there are, "not four or five, but seven" versions such as :

(1) Baṅgālī, (2) Maithilī, (3) Newārī, (4) Kāśmīrī, (5) Dākṣiṇātya=Southern, (6)mixed Devanāgarī-and. (1) Devanāgarī of an abridged type with omissions here and there. All these were prevalent in India from very early period". Details concerning so many versions and sub-versions have been coming to light gradually. The result is that scholars have realized how difficult and mixed up is the task of preparing a Critical Text of the A.Śa.

Looking to the varieties of recensions, Dr. A.B. Keith has opined that none of these can be taken as conclusive[12]. Dr. S.K. Belvalkar has also observed that the final text of the A.Śa. is not contained in any single recension[13]. One point has to be carefully noted, and it makes the whole of Gujarat proud, that according to Prof. Dileep Kumar Kanjilal, it was Prof. B.K. Thakore (A professor of History from Gujarat State) who was the first to make a total effort in the direction of how to prepare the Critical Text of the A.Śa[14]. Prof. Thakore in his essay[15] entitled, "The Text of the Śakuntalā", has made it clear that not a single available recension seems to contain the original reading fully. He suggested to fix up a Critical Edition taking into consideration all that is the best, appropriate dramatic. To quote his words in full: "Even our oldest manuscripts of it are very modern. If we leave the matter entirely to the orthodox methods of the mere Sanskrit scholar, we can

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advance no further than three Śākuntalās, the Devanāgarī, the Baṅgalī'and the Kāśmīrī. Śākuntalā, however, is not an ordinary play, it is the noblest product of the Sanskrit Drama, the most perfect work of the greatest poet of historical India. Cultured humanity cannot possibly tolerate three divergent Śākuntalās or even two. It must have one single definitive Śākuntalā acceptable to all competent judges. And above all, in Kālidāsa, we are dealing with an author about whom we can assert categorically that if we can only discover from amongst the variants before us that one which is unquestionably the beautiful, the most pregnant, the most appropriate, and the most dramatic, that one is also unquestionably what Kālidāsa must have written, and not the others. This, at any rate, is the principle of selective comparison I advocate. (See : The Text of the Śākuntalā, Section first, page.5).

3. Interpolations, Variants and their reasons

We saw that of the three plays of Kālidāsa A.Śa., the best one has its text preserved in four to five versions. A study of interpolations and variants that catch the eye in all these five versions, will prove to be of great interest, for beginning with the very title of this work, down to its epilogue (Bharatavākyam) the text shows terrible corruption, alteration, addition and variants. The Baṅgālī version has the title as "Abhijñāna-Śakuntala", while the Devanāgarī version has "Abhijñāna-Śākuntala". In the epilogue whether the reading is Śrutimahatī or Śrutamahatī (or even Śrutamahatām) is also debatable. So, before talking about the Critical Edition of A.Śa./Śā., it is absolutely necessary to look into such innumerable alterations and variants :

(1) In the Devanāgarī and Southern versions of A.Śa., we have 21 to 24 verses in the third act, but in the Maithilī' and the Baṅgālī versions, there are 40-41 verses. Thus against the shorter text of the Devanāgarī version, in the' Baṅgālī version a whole scene seems to have been added, e.g. Anasūyā says बहुवल्लभा

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राजानः श्रूयन्ते । (The King in reply says: परिग्रहबहुत्वेऽपि द्वे प्रतिष्ठे कुलस्य नः । Here, Śakuntalā observes that her friends have to beg pardon of the King for crossing common etiquette. There upon the friends say that the one who said, 'not to, detail the King who is separated from his harem, has to beg pardon. The King here says that he would forgive this fault only if this lady with thighs like Rambhā would agree to sleep with him on the grass-bed[16]. On this Priyarhvadā comments that, "न एतावता पुनः तुष्टिः भविष्यति ।" Thus there is an open dialogue referring to the love in union. After this the friends go away under the pretext of uniting the young one of a deer with its mother. Dusyanta takes charge of looking after Śākuntalā and tries to convince her that the gāndharva form of marriage is acceptable even to the elders. But Śākuntalā gets up and slips away and the King follows her. Seeing that he is out in the Sun while stepping out of the bower, he returns inside the bower and picking up the lotus stalk of Śākuntalā presses it with his bosom. Śakuntalā who was standing at some distance sees all this. She re-enters the bower under the pretext of recovering her lotus-stalk-ornament. The King says : जीवितेश्वरी मे प्राप्ता । and begs to slip the lotus-stalk-ornament in Śākuntalā's hand. Both sit together. Śākuntalā asks him to make hurry: त्वरतां त्वरताम् आर्यपुत्रः । The King is happy to listen to these words and adds : भर्तुराभाषणपदमेतत् । i.e. These words are directed to one's husband. By that time the pollen fallen from the flower-earing of Śākuntalā turns her eyes tearful. The King takes advantage of this and suggests that if she accepts, he would clear the dust from the eye by blowing it up. He tries to lift her face and Śākuntalā tries to stop him. Meanwhile a suggestion is dropped from behind the curtain, viz. चक्रवाकवधूके आमन्त्रयस्व प्रियसहचरम् उपस्थिता रजनी । This scene is not read in the Devanagan version. Dr. S.K. Belvalkar has accepted this scene in the *Kāśmīri* version by shortening it with

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some omissions.

In the same way in the Kāśmīrī version (Śā., act VII), there is an interlude - praveśaka. It contains a dialogue and dance of two celestial dancers - nymphs - "Nākalāsikā". It informs the spectators that when the disturbance caused by demons was removed, Indra has ordered Mātali to see Duṣyanta back home on earth. This interlude is read only in the Kāśmīrī version. It is not read either in the Devanāgarī, Southern, Maithilī or Baṅgalī version. In short, this may be also an interpolation.

(2) Even the names of characters in this play read differently. Thus, the hero is called दुःषन्त, दुष्मन्त, दुष्वन्त, and दुष्यन्त, in different scripts belonging to different versions. Accordingly the Editors of the Critical Editions have also accepted difference in this name. Similarly, the Vidūṣaka is also called Mādhavya, Māḍhavya, and Maṇḍavya and Śākuntalā's friend is Anasūya or Anusūyā. Similarly, we have Pārvatāyana or Vātāyana, Dhanamitra or Dhanavṛddhi, Śarṅgarava or Śārṅgarava, Haṁsapadikā or Haṁsavatī etc.

(3) The interludes before Act III, IV and VI are termed Praveśaka in the Baṅgālī and Maithilī versions, while the Kāśmīrī, Devanāgarī and Southern versions call them viṣkambhaka in the Acts III, & IV and Praveśaka in the Act VI. Dr. Rewaprasada Dvivedi has called these as viṣkambhaka, miśraviṣkambhaka and miśraviṣkambhaka respectively.

(4) In the Baṅgālī and Maithilī versions each Act is given a separate name such as Act-I is called ākhetaka , Act-II is called ākhyānugupti, Act III is called Śṛṅgārabhoga, Act-IV is called Śākuntalāprasthana, Act V is called Śākuntalapratyākhyāna, Act VI is called Śākuntalāviraha and Act VII is called Śākuntalāsaṁvardhana. But of course in the Baṅgālī Act VII, and in the Maithilī Acl-ll are without names. Apart from these two versions no names are attached to any act in any other versions.

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(5) The number of verses in each versions is different. The table below shows this:

	Baṅgālī	Maithilī	Kāśmīrī	Devanāgarī	Southern
Act-I	33	33	30	34	29
II	19	19	18	18	18
III	41	40	24	28	24
IV	24	26	23	22	22
V	32	34	33	30	31
VI	37	37	32	32	32
VII	35	36	36	35	35
Total	221	225	196	199	191

(6) The number of stage directions also differ, Dr. Dilecp Kumar Kanjilal suggests the following :

		Stage-diretions							Total
	Acts	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	
1.	Baṅgālī	98	49	97	76	70	101	83	574
2.	Mahhilī	98	51	97	86	68	106	86	592
3.	Kāśmīrī	105	53	100	90	75	110	90	623
4.	Abridged Devanagari	88	45	54	80	60	92	72	491
5.	Mixed Devanāgarī	92	49	57	82	61	95	75	511
6.	Southern	88	45	54	80	60	93	73	493

This deduction shows that the number of stage-directions increase from Baṅgālī to Maithilī and Kāśmīrī versions

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respectively. On the other hand in the abridged versions of the Devanāgarī and Southern versions the number is almost identical with a slight increase in mixed Devanāgarī version[17].

(7) In almost all the versions of Śa(Śā)kuntalam, the Vidūṣaka, Nāgaraka-Śyāla, Śākuntalā, her friends, Gautami and Ceti speak Sauraseni Prakrita; the two police-officers, fisherman and Sarvadamana speak Māgadhī 'Prākṛta, the love-letter by Śakuntalā, the songs of Naṭi and Hamsapadikā, presented in Prākṛta-āryās are in Mahārāṣṭri-Prākṛta. Thus in the Śākuntalam there is a simultaneous use of Śaurasenī, Māgadhī and Mahārāṣṭrī Prākṛtas. But in different versions their forms are seen to be different. We may illustrate this by quoting the following:

(a) नन्वार्यमिश्रैः प्रथममेवाज्ञप्तमभिज्ञानशाकुन्तलं नामापूर्वं नाटकं प्रयोगेऽधिक्रियताम् । The speech by, Naṭi is in Śaurasenī Prākṛta. In In Baṅgālī version we have णाडअं for नाटकं in Maithilī णालअं Devanāgarī version has णाडअं Miśra-Devanāgarī has णाटअं Kāśmirī has णाडअं and Southern version has णाडअं Similarly ततो वसन्तोदारसमये तस्या उन्मादयितृकं रूपं प्रेक्ष्य....। is Anasūyā's speech. The fourth word in it is differently noted : In Baṅgālī उन्मादइत्तअं in Maithilī उन्मादइत्तकं, in Devanāgarī उन्मादयित्तअं, or उन्मादइत्तअं in Miśra Devanāgarī उन्मादअत्तअं, Kāśmīrī and Southern versions have उन्मादइत्तअं. These different forms are seen in Śaurasenī Prākṛta.

(b) In Act VI, after captivating the fisherman the Śyāla observes: अङ्गुलीयकदर्शनमस्य विमर्शयितव्यम् । राजकुलमेव गच्छामः । This is spoken in Māgadhī. The word राजकुलम् is राअउलं, in Baiigalx¢ राउलं, in Maithiī and Devanāgarī and also in Miśhra Devanāgarī, in Kāśmiri राअउलं ॥

(c) The season-song of Nati, in the introduction of the play, reads as :

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ईषदीषच्चुम्बितानि भ्रमरैः सुकुमारकेसरशिखानि ।
अवतंसयन्ति दयमानाः प्रमदाः शिरीषकुसुमानि ॥

Let us take the verb अवतंसयन्ति. This song is in the Mahārāṭṛī Prākṛta. The different 'forms are read as in Baṅgālī - অবঅসঅন্তি, in Maithilī অবঅংসঅন্তি, abridged Devanāgarī त्तदंसअन्ति, in Miśra Devanāgaī ओदंसयन्ति, in Kāśmīrī অবদংসঅন্তি and in the Southern version it is ওদংসঅন্তি ।

Similarly, the structure of Pathyā-āryā according to Piṅgala is: in both the lines there must be 7-1/2 gaṇas, in the first, third, fifth and seventh gaṇa, there should not be 'Ja'gaṇa (i.e. U-U), and in the second half the arrangement should be identical with the first half but in the sixth gaṇa, only one laghuakṣara should be there. Now this structure is presented only in the Baṅgālī version, e.g.

খণচু । ম্বিআই । ভমরে । হিংউঅ । সুউমা । রকেস । রসিহা । ইং । ৭-১/২
অবঅং । সঅন্তি । সদযং । সিরীস । কুসুমা । ঈং । পমআ । ও । ৭-১/২

The Sanskrit rendering is -

क्षणचुम्बितानि भ्रमरैः ऊहत सुकुमारकेसरशिखानि ।
अवतंसयन्ति सदयं शिरीषकुसुमानि प्रमदाः ॥

In the rest of the versions, viz. Maithilī, Devanāgarī, and Southern the āryā is faulty.

*

Fortunately, which variant can be acceptable in Śaurasenī, Māgadhī, and Mahārāṣṭrī Prākṛta in the Prākṛta speeches, in a Critical Edition has been ably determined by Richard Pischel. So, to this extent the editing of Prākṛta passages has been satisfactorily accomplished. Prof. Dileep Kumar Kanjilal writes: Pischel's text presents the correct reading of the Prākṛta portions.... it shows the near perfect standard of restoring a text from the

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MSS. critically." (A Reconstruction of the Śakuntalam, page. 174).[18] A noteworthy point that can be added in this respect is that the Sanskrit rendering of these Prakṛta passages by modern editors deserves re-examination, e.g. the Prākṛta language does not show forms in the dative. Vararuci (6-64) has commanded in *'Prākṛta-Prakāśa* that for dative, genetive has to be used. Now those who have given Sanskrit rendering have over-looked this and instead of placing the original in dative, they have used the genetive in Sanskrit also. e.g. एत्तिओ वधूजणस्स उवदेसो । should be एतावान् वधूजनाय उपदेशः । and not एतावान् वधूजनस्य उपदेशः । in Sanskrit. My article, viz. संस्कृत नाटकान्तर्गत प्राकृत षष्ठयन्त रूपों का संस्कृत में छायानुवाद could be consulted for advantage in this respect.[19] In all the so called Critical Editions of Śākuntala this point is overlooked.

(8) Now, we will pick up some illustrations from different Acts in all the versions and see what type of variants are located.

Act-I : (i) In the beginning of this drama, the Naṭī sings a season-song. Thereafter the stage-director enters and asks : तदिदानीं कतमत्प्रकरणमाश्रित्यैनम् आराधयामः । The Devanāgarī versions accepted by Rāghava Bhaṭṭa, has this reading. The Baṅgālī version has तत्कतमं प्रयोगमश्रित्यैनमाराधयामः । Due to Naṭī's song the spectators look as it were they are painted in a picture. The Sūtradhāra is also not above this influence. He inquires as to which Nāṭaka is to be staged. But instread he inquires as to which Prakaraṇa is to be staged ? The suggestion is that this play is a play of loss of memory, of rāga-baddha-citta-vrtti, i.e. of mental activity captivated by attachment ! This beauty is not conveyed in the variant that shows *Prayoga* in place of *Prakaraṇa.*

(ii) The hermit says: न खलु न खलु बाणः सन्निपात्योऽयमस्मिन् । मृदुनि मृगशरीरे पुष्पराशाविवाग्नि : ॥ This verse is read in the Baṅgālī and Maithilī versions, but is not read in Kāśmīrī and Rāghava's versions. Śrīnivāsācārya commenting on this, observes that तूलराशौ is a variant available here in some of the Southern manuscripts.

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(iii) By the end of Act-I, the king says :गच्छति पुरः शरीरं धावति पश्चादसंस्तुतं चेतः। This follows the Devanāgarī and Kāśmīrī versions. The Baṅgālī version has असंस्थितं चेतः। Maithilī version also reads likewise. But Ghanśyāma, a commentator from South offers: असंस्कृतं चेतः।

Act-II : (iv) In the beginning of the Second Act, Vidūṣaka bemoan his fate. He says: आश्रमपदं प्रविष्टस्य तापसकन्यका शकुन्तला मम अधन्यतया दर्शिता। This is read in Devanāgarī, Baṅgālī, Maithilī and Kāśmīrī versions. But two commentaries from South, viz. the authors of दिङ्मात्रदर्शना and चर्चा have : ममोदरस्य अधन्यतया।

(v) Seeing Duṣyanta arriving, Vidūṣaka observes: एषः बाणासनहस्तो हृदयनिहितप्रियजनो वनपुष्पमालाधारी इत एवागच्छति प्रियवयस्यः। This is read in the Baṅgālī version. In the Maithii there is a slight variation, viz. हृदयनिहितप्रियतमो. But there is a change in the Kāśmīrī version, which has : राजा बाणासनहस्ताभिर्यवनीभिः परिवृतो वनपुष्पमालाधारिणी इत एवागच्छति। And the Devanāgarī version goes even further : एष बाणासनहस्ताभिः यवनीभिः वनपुष्पमालाधारिणीभिः परिवृतो इत एवागच्छति प्रियवयस्यः। Such variants could be effective on the aspect of āhārya-abhinaya, i.e. setting and stage-decoration etc.

(vi) Vidūṣaka taunts the king who is attached with Śākuntalā, a girl of the hermitage. The words, are: भो यथा कस्यापि पिण्डखर्जूरैः उद्वेजितस्य तिन्तिडिकायां श्रद्धा भवति, तथा अन्तःपुरस्त्रीरत्नपरिभोगिनो भवत इयं प्रार्थना। In the Maithilī we have अभिलाषः for श्रद्धा and अभ्यर्थना for प्रार्थना. The Kāśmīrī has a mixture of these two. In Rāghava Bhaṭṭa's Devanāgarī and Southern versions an important variant is seen as : स्त्रीरत्नपरिभाविनः for स्त्रीरत्नपरिभोगिनः।

(vii) Karabhaka who has arrived from Hastināpura- says : आगामिचतुर्थदिवसे पुत्रपिण्डपालनो नाम उपवासो भविष्यति। तत्र दीर्घायुषा अवश्यं वयं संभावयिव्या इति। This reading is found in Baṅgālī version. In

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the Maithilī version we have पुत्रपिण्डपर्युपासनः and the Kāśmīrī version has पुत्रपिण्डाराधनो० । But the Devanāgarī version shows a major change as : आगामिनि चतुर्थदिवसे प्रवृत्तपारणो मे उपवासो भविष्यति । The Southern version has निर्वृत्तपारणो as variant.

Act-Ill : (viii) In the Third act, that describes the Gāndharva-vivāha, Śākuntalā talks to her friends and requests them to find some way so that she may remain in favour of the king. The Baṅgālī version has : तद् यदि वामनुमतं ततः तथा प्रवर्तेथाम् यथा तस्य राजर्षेः अनुकम्पनीया भवामि । अन्यथा स्मरतं माम् । The Marthilī has : अन्यथा, प्रसीदत सिञ्चत इदानीं मे उदकम् । which is a variant. The Kāśmīrī version has : अन्यथा स्मरतं माम् । But the Southern version like Maithilī has अन्यथाऽवसिञ्चतमिदानीं मे उदकम् । The Devanāgarī version goes still further and offers :अन्यथाऽवश्यं सिञ्चतं मे तिलोदकम् ।

(ix) According to Devanāgarī and Southern version, the two friends slip away under the pretext of seeing the young one of the deer united with its mother. Then the King is introduced as a person who tries to woo and win over Śākuntalā. He is ready to shampoo the lotus-red feet of Śākuntalā. But Śākuntalā politely declines the offer for she does not want to disrespect the respectable. She tries to walk away. Duṣyanta stops her and asks her not to leave the lotus-bed. Śākuntalā asks him to observe limits. The King tries to persuade her by suggesting that there are cases where the elders have upheld Gāndharva-vivāhas of daughters of King-ascetics. Śākuntalā holds her ground and asks him to leave her and she still would choose to consult her friends. The King tries to lift up her lips to imprint a kiss saying that he won't leave her till he tastes the nectar of her lip like a bee kissing a flower for honey. Śākuntalā gesticulates to forbid him and by then a voice from behind the curtain suggests them to be alert and get separated. Thus the love-scene is over.

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Against such short and suggestive love-scene, in the Baṅgālī and. Maithilī versions we have this scene almost double in length and duration. In that scene the King asks Śākuntalā to get his fatigue removed by allowing him to sleep with him on the lotus-bed and thus compensate for her earlier lapse when she had observed that the King should not be separated from his harem. After her friends go away, she tries to get away from the King quite often. She asks the King to observe decorum and that ascetics could be moving around. The King holding the end of Śākuntalā's skirt almost steps out of the bower in a hurry. Realizing that they are in the open he leaves her and gets back into the bower. Śākuntalā also withdraws to an extent and requests him :

अनिच्छापूरकोऽपि संभाषणमात्रकेण परिचितोऽयं जनो न विस्मर्तव्यः ।

The King says that even when you slip away from me, you do not leave behind my heart like shadow not leaving the root of a tree's trunk at the end of the day. Hearing this Śākuntalā becomes weak and is unable to move away, much further. The King tries to console himself with the help of lotus-stalk-ornament left over by Śākuntalā. Śākuntalā returns to the scene under the pretext of picking up the lotus-stalk-ornament. The King says that he would return the bracelet provided she allows him to slip it in her hand. Both of them sit on the stone-bench. Śākuntalā says : त्वरतु त्वरतु आर्यपुत्रः ! The King is happy hearing the address 'आर्यपुत्र'. Meanwhile pollen carried away by the blow of wind drops in Śākuntalā's eye and her sight is hindered. The King wants to remove it with the blow from his mouth. But Śākuntalā has no faith in him. The King assures her that without the order of her lady-ship the servant won't go any further !

Accordingly he lifts her face and removed the dust from her eye with the help of a blow from his mouth. Then he observes that the bee is satisfied even by the fragrance of the lotus. Śākuntalā asks him as to what he would do in case of dissatisfaction.

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Immediately the King tries to catch hold of her but the words suggesting them to be alert and get separated are heard from behind the curtain.

Thus, as compared to the *Devanāgarī* version the *Baṅgālī* version has a lengthier love-scene, which is full of much physical acting also. On the other hand Dr. S.K. Belvalkar has accepted in the Kāśmiri version only four-to five sentences from the Baṅgālī version dialogue. For example the King says : It is not good to go out in the open Sun leaving the lotus-bed- But Śākuntalā still goes. The King follows her and holds her skirt. Śākuntalā asks him to observe decorum, as ascetics must be moving around there. The King on realizing that he too is much in the 'open' returns to the bower. Śākuntalā tells him that he too is much in 'open' retwrns to the bower. Shakuntalā tells him that he should not forget her who, has though not fulfilled his desire, and has made him happy only by soothing words alone. The King says that even if you are slipping away you are not leaving my heart. This moment, चक्रवाकवधूके, आमन्त्रयस्य प्रियसहचरम्। is heard and the scene is over.

(x) At the end of the Third act the hero who feels cheated says : मुखमंसविवर्ति पक्ष्मलाक्ष्याः कथम् अप्युन्नमितं न चुम्बितं तु ॥ This is read in *Devanāgarī*, Southern and *Kāśmīrī* versions. Ānandavardhana observes that 'तु' nipāta is suggestive here. (We know that when 'तु' is spoken the lips get rounded in a way suggesting an attempt to kiss). But in the *Baṅgālī* and *Maithilī* versions we have न चुम्बितं तत्। where तत् goes with मुखम् in keeping with grammar. But the suggestivity slips away.

Act-IV : (xi) If we look for the *śloka-catuṣṭaya* in Act-IV, in the *Baṅgālī* version we have (a) in यास्यत्यद्य०. etc., अन्तर्बाष्पभरोपरोधि गदितं चिन्ताजडं दर्शनम्। (b) in पातुं न प्रथमं व्यवस्यति जलं युष्मास्वसिक्तेषु या। etc. We have (c) in अस्मान् साधु विचिन्त्य, the fourth line has दैवाधीनमतः परं न खलु तत्स्त्रीबन्धुभिर्याच्यते। (d) in शुश्रूषस्व०.we have भूयिष्ठं भव दक्षिणा

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परिजने भोगेष्वनुत्सेकिनी। (e) in the verse अर्थो हि कन्या०, we have जातोऽस्मि सद्यो विशदान्तरात्मा चिरस्य निक्षेपमिवार्पयित्वा। And the *Maithilī* version also reads identically. While in *Devanāgarī*, Southern and *Kāśmirī* versions in the above verses, the variants read as (a), (b), (c), (d) and (e).

Act-V : (xii) In the beginning of act V, in *Devanāgarī* and Southern versions, the King and Vidūṣaka enter. Vidūṣaka draws the King's attention to अभिनवमधुलोलुपो भवान् etc. and the king speaks - रम्याणि वीक्ष्य मधुरांश्च निशम्य शब्दान्। etc. He sends the Vidūṣaka to Haṁsapadikā and then the Chamberlin (Kañcukī) enters. His speech आचार इत्यवहितेन मया गृहीता०। etc. follows.

In the *Baṅgālī*, *Maithilī* and *Kāśmirī* versions, the Chamberlin enters in the beginning and talks about his affairs and informs about guest ascetics from Kanvāśrama who have come to meet Duśyanta. Thereafter the King and Vidūṣaka enter and the song of the bards Vaitālikau is heard. Then Hamsapadikā's song : अभिनवमधुलोलुपो० etc. is heard. Thus the beginning of act V differs in these versions.

Act-VI : (xiii) The Vidūṣaka says to the King भोः न विस्मरामि। किन्तु सर्वं कथयित्वा त्वयैव अवसाने कथितं - परिहासविकल्पः एषः, न भूतार्थ इति। मया मन्दबुद्धिना तथा एव गृहीतम्। This follows the *Baṅgālī*, and *Maithilī* versions. In these two versions, in the last verse of Act-II also we have परिहासविकल्पितं etc. In the *Kāśmirī* version, Vidūṣaka says: न विस्मरामि... etc. and in this version, at the end of the Act-II, we have परिहासविजल्पितं. etc,

The *Devanāgarī* and. Southern versions also read almost the same. The words are : -

परिहासविजल्प एषः, etc. But the word रहस्यभेदभीरूणा read in *Kāśmirī* is not seen here.

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Act-VII : (xiv) In the Kāśmīrī version only, in the beginning of act VII, there is a Praveśaka. There we have a dialogue between two celestial damsels called Cūtamañjarī and Pārijatamañjari. It is stated that Duṣyanta has started his return journey from heaven to earth. Then the two damsels dance. This scene is not read in *Baṅgālī, Maithilī* and Southern versions.

(xv) In the two lines of the epilogue (Bharatavākya) also, there are variants. The, *Baṅgālī* version has

प्रवर्ततां प्रकृतिहिताय पार्थिवः सरस्वती श्रुतिमहतां महीयताम्।
ममापि च क्षपयतु नीललोहितः पुनर्भवं परिगतभक्तिरात्मभूः॥

In *Maithilī* version the two parts are different. Such as महीयसाम् – परिगतभक्तिरात्मना। In *Kāśmirī* there is one word different as compared to the *Baṅgālī* version quoted above. It is परिगतशक्तिरात्मभूः But in Rāghava Bhaṭṭa's *Devanāgarī* version, we have सरस्वती श्रुतमहतां महीयसाम् – परिगतशक्तिरात्मभूः। Dr. Rewaprasada Dvivedi has सरस्वती श्रुतिमहती महीयताम्।

All the fifteen points discussed under item no. (8), clearly suggest that beginning with the title Śa (śā)kuntala to the last Bharatavākya variants are noted at all places. Hardly a place could be spotted where there is no change or corruption in a given reading.

* *

In Śa(śā)kuntalam, these variants have crept in due to a number of factors, e.g. mistakes due to the ignorance or lapse of concentration on the part of the scribe, the impurities creeping in while transcribing, this being due to lack of mastery of both the scripts, use of simple synonyms for difficult words, use of grammatically pure forms, change of Prākṛta forms that go on changing in course of time, use of regional names, changes to bring out greater suggestivity, trying to generate more laughter through speeches of the Vidūṣaka etc. The biggest factor could

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be the staging at different places, under different circumstances and times, with every fresh presentation the stage-director and his dramatic troupe could have introduced innovations catering to local choice. Additions, alterations and omissions could have resulted by this. This point is supported by our observation under (6), where a terrific difference in stage-directions was noticed above. The stage-director concerned could have continued the practice of introducing changes keeping in mind the local taste. The present writer has contributed a paper viz; शाकुन्तल के विदूषक की उक्तियों मे पाठान्तरों का एक समीक्षात्मक अध्ययन ।[२०] Which tries to suggest which recension could be the central point from which variants could have emerged, or exchanged.

4.

The number of manuscripts (MSS) and testimonia

Considering the five versions of the play, Abhijñāna - śa(śā)kuntalam and the illustrative variants shown above, the task of restoration of Kālidāsa's original text seems to be full of great difficulties, if not impossible. But if an attempt has to be made in that direction, we should know what should be with us to start with. Dr. Dileep Kumar Kanjilal has made an all-out effort in this direction, and the result is that perhaps among some 150 odd editors of A.Śa. he is most noteworthy, and so special with this. We will try to take note of the mss. and testimonia available in this context.

The New Catalogue Catalogorum (Madras) mentions 450 mss. which preserve A.Śa and / or its Commentaries. There are 375 Catalogues published till today, out of which Dr. D.K. Kanjilal had an access to 120. The 72 lists prepared by Dr. V. Raghavan which mention MSS. that are not mentioned in the Catalogues, are not included in the above. On the strength of these 120 Catalogues, Dr. D.K. Kanjilal had all information regarding 250 MSS. and some 56 more were noticed by him which preserved the copies of the Commentaries on A.Sa.

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Now classifying these on the basis of scripts, we have 1 in Nevarī, 4 in Śāradā, 4 in Maithilī, 25 old Baṅgālī, 150 in Devanagārī, and 80 in Southern scripts, such as Grantha, Telugu and Kannaḍa etc.

For the first time when in 1919 A.D., Shri B.K. Thakore had raised the issue of an all-acceptable Critical Text, the oldest MSS. consulted was of the 17th centuary. But when Dr. D.K. Kanjilal picked up this issue, he had an access to the Nevārī. Ms. of the 12th centaury. The MS. is mentioned in "A Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscript, at the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, Vol.V, No.5289/5653. Then there are MSS. from Bikaner and deposited in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune, the oldest among them being of 1532 A.D. There are other MSS. in the Asiatic society, Calcutta of 1572 A.D. Those in Paris are dated 1612 and 1671 A.D. The readings of these MSS. confirm the readings of the oldest Nevārī MS. and Dr. D.K, Kanjilal relied on this MS. for preparing his Critical Edition of A.Śa.[21]

*

There are 14 Commentaries on the A.Śa, but none of the commentaries is earlier than the 15th centaury. Most of these are again from South : They are (i) Kāṭayavema's Kumāragiri-rājīyā (1391-1414 A.D.), (ii) Śaṅkara's Rasacandrikā (1450-1500 A.D.) (iii) Candraśekhara's Sandarbha Dipikā ṭikā (1600-1653 A.D.) (iv) Abhirāma's Diṅmātradarśanā (date is not confirmed, but after 1400 A.D.); (v) Dakṣiṇāvartanāth's commentary (undecided); (vi) Nārāyaṇa's Abhijñāna-Śākuntala-Prākṛta-vivrti(1650 A.D.); (vii) Śrīnivāsa's Sāhitya, (viii) Nīlakaṇṭha's Śākuntalavyākhyā, (ix) Bāla-govindarāja's Govinda-brahmā-nandiyā, (x) Carcā, which is anonymous; (xi) Śrī Kaṇṭha's ṭikā, (xii) Ghanaśyāma's Śākuntala-Sañjivana-ṭippaṇa (1728-1735 A.D.), (xiii) Rāghava Bhaṭṭa's Arthadyotanikā, (xiv) Narahari's Śākuntala-ṭikā (1650

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A.D.) etc. Even after 1800 A.D., some Commentaries have been written but they are not noteworthy.

Most noteworthy among the above is no.3 Candraśekhara's Sandarbhadīpikāṭika. It can be gauged from these that there were seven traditions before Candraśekhara, e.g. 1. The one which he considers as exemplar and comments upon; 2, Śaṅkara's reading, 3. Tirhuta or Tirabhuktiya, i.e. Mithilā-Bihāra- reading, 4. Southern reading, 5. Eastern reading 6. Purāṇa pustaka-pāṭha and 7. The old book from other region.

If we attempt classification of these Commentaries from the point of view of different versions, we feel that 1) Candraśekhara comments on the Baṅgālī version, 2) Śaṅkara and Narahari have Maithilī version, 3) Rāghava Bhaṭṭa has Devanāgarī, 4) Kāṭayavema, Abhirāma, Carcākāra, Ghanaśyāma and Śrīnivāsācārya have the Southern version, 5) There is no Commentary on the Kāśmīrī version noticed till day.

That these Commentaries are of great use in Critical Text editing is explained by Dr. Dileep Kumar Kanjilal. He says that in preparing the Critical Texts of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* the evidence of MSS. was taken into account, and Commentaries and translations were treated as sub-ordinate. But in case of Śākuntalam all the Commentaries are more useful, because they preserve the tradition of different readings. Thus the Commentaries should be given equal importance.[22]

In the text fixation of A.Śa. 1) the MSS. of the play and 2) the Commentaries on the play and 3) a third important material of testimonia is derived from quotations in the works on poetics. Similarly works on dramaturgy, and anthologies are also noteworthy. In this context all the articles by Dr. T. S. Nandi with reference to works on poetics and dramaturgy should also be taken care of. He has two articles viz. (i) Fixing up of some variants

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from Kālidāsa (Sambodhi, Vol.11. 1982-83, pp. 154-165), and (ii) Fixing up of some variants from Kālidāsa (Sambodhi XII, April 1983-January 1984, pp.89-97). Wherein different works on poetics are consulted to fix up the reading in Śākuntalam[23]. Allowing some credit to Dr. T. S. Nandi we may observe that in his effort, he has not pin-pointed as to which version this or that reading belongs to. Dr. D.K. Kanjilal has done it and has suggested that Vāmana seems to follow the Kāśmīrī version.[24] Thus it is supported that the larger recension of Śākuntala is as old as 9th centuary. Two verses read in the love-scene of the Act-Ill are quoted by Viśvanātha and also in Gaṇaratna-mahodadhi. A third verse is quoted in Vidyākara's (1110-1130 A.D.) Subhāṣita-ratna-kośa (verse No.493). This shows that the Baṅgālī version must have become prevalent by 12th to 14th centaury A.D. Barring these three verses, no portion of the longer recension is quoted by any ālaṅkārika.

5.
The search for the original text and views on its restoration

After taking stalk of these five versions, the problem of text fixation of Śākuntala seems to remain a yakṣa-praśna for all time. Dr. A.B. Keith holds that no recension could prove to be conclusive.[25] Dr. S.K. Belvalkar also has a similar opinion. He feels that no recension seems to present the original reading in full.[26] Dr. Dileep Kumar Kanjilal has based his efforts on the Nevārī MS. and though the Critical Text he has furnished is closer to the larger recension of Baṅgāla, he holds that it is the oldest text also and is genuine. This reading has not only the support of the oldest scribal tradition, but is also supported by works on poetics. But we fear that even Dr. D. K. Kanjilal's views also will not be favoured by all. To quote him. "It is in the *Abhijñāna-Śakuntalam* that the Indological world is both united and divided".

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He suggests that one should not take side about whether Kālidāsa wrote this reading or that, but one should examine how much poeticians, dramaturgists, or anthologists have accepted from Kālidāsa. If such quotations go to suggest the existence of the larger recension even in 10th century or earlier, it is more advisable for people in 20th century to accept that perhaps the oldest text belonged to the larger recension.[27]

Against the traditional view of Dr. D.K. Kanjilal, Prof. B. K. Thakore on the other hand notices that the time gap between the original work and its available MSS. is of hundreds of years and so it is the natural task and duty of the learned to make a free and critical comparison of all the recensions and try to arrive at the origin.

We may add that Dr.D.K.Kanjilal has been over enthusiastic about his observations, that the Bṛhatpātha i.e. longer recension is quoted by Visvanatha and others need not prove that it was the original one. For one, Viśvanātha and others belong to the eastern part where Baṅgālī version could have been popular, and as Dr. S.K. Belvalkar suggests the Kāśmīrī version also could be oldest as Vāmana (from Kāśmīrī, 9th centuary) is familiar with this.

The 'Itikartavyatā' = 'must' before the restoration of a Critical Text of Abhijñāna-Śākuntalam.

(i) The Southern recension has to be fixed by consulting all South Indian MSS. material.

(ii) All unpublished Commentaries have to be published first.

(iii) A Critical Text should mention all readings of whatever versions and MSS. and

(iv) A search for a MS. earlier than even the Nevārī should be continued, for even this document is much later as compared to the date of Kālidāsa (even if it is 400 A.D.).

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Foot Note :

* This article was published in the Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 50, Nos. 1-4, Sept.-June 2000-2001 Issue, pp. 107-125.

1. I never failed to consult the three commentaries before deciding on the reading of my text... Śakuntalā by Kālidāsa, Ed. by Monier Williams, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, Varanasi, 3rd Edition, 1961 (Preface : X).
2. See : The Original Sākuntala, Published in "SirAsutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes', III Orientalia, Part-II, (pp. 349-59), Calcutta, 1925. And, 'The Application of a few Canons of Textual and Higher Criticism to Kālidāsa's Sākuntala, Pub. in 'Asia Majof, Leipzing, II, i, pp.76-104.
3. See : Abhijñānaśākuntalam, Ed. by S.K. Belvalkar, Sahitya Akadami, New Delhi, 1965 A.D., (p.51),
4. कालिदासविरचितम् अभिज्ञानशकुन्तलम्, Edited by Prof. Dileep Kumar Kanjilal, Sanskrit College, Calcutta-73, 1980 A.D. preface : (page-f).
5. The MSS. of the *Devānagarī* class are chiefly found in the Upper Provinces of India, where the great demand has produced copyists without scholarship, who have faithfully transcribed what they did not understand, and therefore, could not designedly alter. On the other hand, the copyists in Bengal have been Paṇḍits whose cacoëthes for amplifying and interpolating has led to much repetition and amplification. Many examples might here be adduced, but I will only refer to the Third Act of the Baṅgālī recension, where the love-scene between the King and Śakuntalā has been expanded to four or five times the length it occupies in the MSS. of the *Devanāgarī* recension - See : *Śakuntalā*, Ed. by : Monier Williams, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series,

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Varanasi, 1961, (p.VII).

6. See : V. Raghavan, A Preface to the Śākuntala (p.iii) in the Śākuntala, Ed. by S.K. Belvalkar, Pub. Sahitya Akadami, New Delhi, 1965.
7. See : The footnote No.2.
8. See : The Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, Pune, XX, p.21.
9. See : कालिदास ग्रन्थावली, सं. रेवाप्रसाद द्विवेदी, Pub. Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi, 1986, Editor's Note : Page - XVI.
10. Asiatic Society, Calcutta Palm-leaf MS. No.5287, R. L. Mitra Notice Vol.III, No. 1.274. This is the oldest MS. of the Baṇgālī recension bearing the date Śaka 1494 = 1572 A.D.
11. See : A Reconstruction of the AbhijnanaŚākuntalam, Ed. by Prof. D.K. Kanjilal, Sanskrit College, Calcutta, 1980 (p.7).
12. We must hold that neither recension is of conclusive value. See : Sanskrit Drama by A.B. Keith, OVP, London, 1959 (page: 155).
13. The final text naturally belongs to no particular recension see : "The Original Śākuntala ", Pub. in Orientalia (III), Part-II, Calcutta, 1925 (pp.349-59).
14. Mr. B.K. Thakore, who was the first man to veture a thought provoking and all-round approach to the problem. See : A Reconstruction of the Śākuntalam by D.K. Kanjilal, Preface: Page-3.
15. The text of the Śākuntalā, (A paper read at the first Oriental Conference, Poona, 1919) by Prof. B.K. Thakore, Pub. by D.B. Taraporewala Sons and Co. Bombay, 1922 A.D. This book is reprinted by Kālidasa Sanskrit University, Ramtek, Nagpur, 2020 by Prof. Dr. Shri Niwas Varkhediji, in AIOC.

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16. अपराधमिमं ततः सहिष्ये यदि रम्मोरु तवाङ्गसृष्टे।
कुसुमास्तरणे क्लमापहं मे सुजनत्वादनुमन्यसेऽवकाशम् ॥ - See : Richard Pischel's edition (pp.35) has verse No. 24.

17. See : A Reconstruction of the Śakuntalam, Ed. by Prof. Dileep Kumar Kanjilal, Sanskrit College, Calcutta, 1980, Chapter two, page: 55.

18. However, we may add that Pischel's observations could be verified by consulting our esteemed colleague Dr. K.R. Chandra, Ahmedabad.

19. See : Journal ol the Ganganath Jha Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeeth, Allahabad, Vol.XI-III, January 1987 (Pub. in 1991), pp. 263-271.

20. This paper was read at the All India Oriental Conference, Poona Session XXXVI, 1993 and was awarded Dr. V. Rashavan Prize.

21. It may be noted that the oldest MS. used for the Critical Edition of the Mahabharata was dated 1511 A.D., and that of the Rāmāyaṇa was 1020 A.D.

22. See : A Reconstruction of the Śākuntalam, by D.K. Kanjilal, Calcutta, 1980, (p. 17).

23. And works on Alaṇkāra proper.....are greater authorities than any of the present day editor. T.S. Nandi, Sambodhi, Vol.11, 1982, p. 145.

24. It is interesting to note in this connection that all the eight poeticists hailing from Kashmir have invariably cited the peculiar Kashmirian readings of the enlarged text.....this unmistakably proves that the so-called enlarged version of the Sakunatala was known in Kashmir with certain alterations for several hundred years since the appearance of Vāmana. D.K. Kanjilal (p.79).

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25. We must hold that neither recension is of conclusive value. Sanskrit Drama by A.B. Keith, page : 155.

26. The final text naturally belongs to no particular recension. See : The Original Śākuntala, by S.K. Belvalkar, Orientalia - II, Calcutta, 1925, page 359.

27. One must not think in terms of what is truly Kālidāsian or non-Kālidāsian but what the anthologies, poeticists, and literature of India cite from the text of Kālidāsa. If evidences testify to the existence of the alleged enlarged version before the 10th century, it would be proper for us in the 20th century to accept the same as more authentic than any interpretative reconstruction. D.K. Kanjilal, page-132.

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10.
The "Abhijñāna-s'akuntalā" - 230 years of Textual Criticism

0 - 1, Introduction:

Sir William Jones translated the Bengali version of the Abhijñāna-s'akuntalam[1] in 1789 A.D. It was the first English translation among the European languages. The western world became aware of the richness of Sanskrit literature through this translation only, and ultimately it created sudden and tremendous interest for the Indological study. The western world is now curious to explore not only the Sanskrit literature, but the whole Indian heritage. This paper tries to discuss the journey of textual criticism of Kālidāsa's Abhijñāna-Śakuntalā only, because this drama stands first in the first line of all Indological studies. There are more than hundred efforts to edit and publish the text (and translations) of this drama world over, since 1789 A. D. But so far as the question of textual criticism of this drama is concerned, no such effort has been satisfactory in one way or the other till date ! Only a few scholars have notably contributed to textual criticism during the last 230 years, namely Dr. Richard Pischel (1876), Prof. P. N. Patankar (1898), Prof. Balavantraya K. Thakore (1919), Dr.S.K. Belvalkar (1923 to 1965), Prof. Deelipkumar Kanjilal (1980) and lastly me. (2013 - 2023). The first translation by Sir William Jones was published in 1789, and we are in first quarter of the 21st century. A long period of

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two hundred thirty years has gone by, so it's high time to review the total efforts done in this area.

0-2, Literary Criticism vis-a-vis Textual Criticism :

The literary world was astonished when a German poet Goethe raptured on reading the Abhijñāna-s'akuntalam and wrote four lines of appreciation[2], then, Gurudeva Rabindra Nath Tagore, the Nobel laureate poet of India, has written an article entitled- "Śākuntala : it's inner meaning;"[3] every literary person of past or present is bound to be impressed with his literary criticism. Subsequently nobody bothers to think of textual criticism of the Abhijñāna-Śākuntalam. But if the textual criticism of this drama take place first, then there is a scope to yield new literary criticism. Unfortunately, Sanskrit students are taught literary criticism first and textual criticism is introduced later in our syllabi, which is very damaging and fruitless pedagogy. As the doctrine of sovereign immunity originated with the axiom that "Any Literary criticism of ancient or medieval period text must be preceded by Textual criticism." Ironically, Sanskrit academicians do not follow this pedagogy. In the present scenario, grammatical operation, lexicography and literary criticism is taught first, and textual criticism may or may not be taught later. Sometimes many students, especially in traditional *pathashalas*, miss an opportunity to know a bit of textual criticism during their entire study period.

[1]

1-0, Editing Various Recensions :

A critically edited text of this drama was not available when Sir William Jones had translated this drama. He was not even aware of different versions of this drama. He might have chosen a text randomly from Bengal. His English translation was further translated into French (by A. Bruguiere, Paris, 1803,

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and by P. L. Chezy, 1830) and later on into German too (by George Forster, 1791).

1-1, It is interesting to know the history of critical editions of this drama. We have received five recensions from different scholars: (1) Dr. Richard Pischel collected five Bengali manuscripts of this drama and prepared a critical edition of the "Bengali Recension" in 1877. it was the first critical edition of this drama. The Harvard University Press[4] has also published it's second edition in 1922. (2) Dr. Otto Boehtlingk published a critical edition of the Devanāgarī recension, in 1842 A. D. This Devanāgarī recension contains a shorter text of this drama. Subsequently, Monier Williams got some more manuscripts from India Office Library, London and he has given a better[5] (second) critical edition of this Devanāgarī recension in 1855 A. D. Prof. P.N. Patankar attempted the same recension for the third time (in 1898 A.D.), and claimed that he had prepared "the Purer Devanāgarī Recension" of the "Abhijñāna-s'akuntalam." (the second edition in 1905 A.D.) (3) The so called Southern recension of this drama was published in 1842, with the commentary of Kataya-vema in Telugu script. (4) Dr. G. Buhler collected a birch bark manuscript, written in S'arada script of Kashmir, from Srinagar in 1875[6]. This S'arada manuscript (number - 192) was transliterated into Roman script[7] by Karl Burkhard in1884. He claimed that there is a fourth recension of the Abhijñānas'akuntalam after studying this single manuscript; Subsequently Prof. S. K. Belvalkar's so called Kashmiri recension was also published by Dr. V. Raghavan, General Editor of the Central Sahitya Academy, Delhi in1965. Unfortunately, Prof. S. K. Belvalkar could not write introduction due to his old age. So we cannot know about his critical apparatus, e. g. manuscript material etc. But it seems that he had utilized only one S'āradā manuscript. So, I, Prof. Vasantkumar M. Bhatt, have prepared a critical text edition of this Kashmiri recension. I have

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utilized five S'āradā manuscripts for my critical edition. This edition has been published by the Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan, Delhi, in March 2018. This is the third attempt to edit the Kashmiri recension critically after 1884 A. D. (5) The fifth, Maithili recension of this drama was prepared by Prof. Rama Nath Jha and it is published by Mithila Research Institute, Darbhanga, in 1957. In this Maithili recension, Prof. Rama Nath Jha has also given two commentaries of S'aṅkara and Narahari.

1-2, Here one can observe that more than one attempt have been done to edit the Bengali, the Devanāgarī and the Kashmiri recensions. But no one has attempted to publish a critical edition of South Indian recension, based on multiple manuscripts written in Telugu, Nandi-nagari, Granth, and Malyalam scripts yet. Though majority of the commentaries on Abhijñāna-s'akuntalam were written in South India, it's critical edition is still awaited.

1-3, These five types of text traditions / versions are designated as "recensions" on the bases of different scripts of different regions only. Scholars have distinguished two types of texts of this drama, e.g. one text preserved in longer version and another in shorter version. A longer version can be seen in the Bengali, the Maithili and the Kashmiri recensions. And a shorter version can be seen in the Devanāgarī and South Indian recensions. It is interesting to note that there are three variants in the title of this drama: The Kashmiri recensions reads it as "Abhijñāna s'akuntalā", the Maithili and Bengali read it as "Abhijñānas'akuntalam", and in the Dakshinatya and Devanāgarī recensions, it is- "Abhijñāna s'ākuntalam." Each title suggests some different focal point of the drama. It should also be noted that scholars did not pay attention to find out some basic points of differences critically among these five recensions.

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[2]

2-0-1, Commentaries and some allied works on the text of this drama :

Before going into the detailed discussion of these five recensions, I would like to enumerate some points regarding the South Indian version of this drama and it's commentary works, which are unpublished and preserved in manuscripts only. (1) Majority of the commentary works on this drama are written in South India only, but the first is written by Kāṭayavem in 15th century only. (2) The South Indian commentaries of Kāṭayavema, Abhirāma, Shri-Nivāsa, anonymous "Carcā", Ghanas'yama and Nīlakaṇṭha are published so far. There are two commentaries on Maithili recension, written by S'ankara and Narahari. One major commentary on the Devanagarī recension by Rāghava Bhaṭṭa is also published long back. A remarkable commentary, e.g. Sandarbha-Deepikā, on the Bengali recension by Candra-s'ekhara Cakravartti (though the existence of two manuscripts of this commentary was mentioned by Richard Pischel in 1876) is published[8] in 2013. But many other commentaries are laying in various manuscript libraries, and waiting for their turn to be published ! (3) We do not know whether any other recension of this drama exists in the Newari or Orrisa script too. (4) There are some unpublished manuscripts for Sanskrit rendering (Sanskrit-chhāyā-nuvāda) of Prakrit dialogues of this drama, viz. "Prakrita-vivriti" in manuscript libraries. But most of them have adopted the text of shorter version for this purpose. (5) We do not have total survey of dramatic transformations and poetical translations in local Indian languages[9] of this drama. If we have all these enumerated details with us, it could be of a great help in the textual criticism of the Abhijñāa-s'akutala; or rather it could be of a great help in preparing a "variorum edition" of this drama. A variorum edition[10] itself will serve as a kind of textual criticism.

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Here, it is interesting to note that on the occasion of bicentenary of Sir William Jones's birth (1746 to 1946) the Royal Asiatic Society of Kolkata had called a meeting, which was headed by.Prof. Kshetreshchandra Chattopadyay. In this meeting there was a proposal[11] to prepare a "Variorum Edition of the Abhijñāna-s'akuntalam"! (This meeting was attended by Dr. P. L. Vaidya, Dr. S. M. Katre, Dr. Nag etc. in 1946.) They had such discussion, but no concrete work in this direction has been carried out till A.D.2020

2-0-2, In the first All India Oriental Conference, which was held at B.O. R. I. Poona, in 1919, Prof. Balavantaray Kalyanaray Thakore (Professor of History, at the Deccan College, and a Gujarati Poet) presented a research paper: "The text of S'akuntalā[12]". In this paper he has propounded his theory : "Even our oldest MSS of the play are very modern. If we leave the matter entirely to the orthodox methods of the mere Sanskrit scholar, we can advance no further than three S'akuntalas, - 1. Devanāgarī, 2. Bengali, and 3. the Kashmiri. Cultured humanity cannot tolerate three divergent Śākuntala or even two. It must have one single definitive S'akuntala acceptable to all competent judges. And above all, in Kālidāsa we are dealing with an author about whom we can assert categorically that if we can only discover from amongst the variants before us that one which is unquestionably the beautiful, the most pregnant, the most appropriate, & the most dramatic, that one is also unquestionably what Kālidāsa must have written, and the others. This, at any rate, is the principle of selective comparison I advocate". (Section-1, page :5) He was of the opinion that we should prepare a text on eclectic principles and without any delay. But he did not prepare a text of this drama according to his views. (He has only translated this drama into Gujarati language, in 1906.) This kind of texts may have some

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logical ground, but it cannot be absolutely free from the subjectivity. So, any kind of textual criticism should be based on the documentary evidence. Otherwise any edition which is based on eclectic principles, will not be acceptable for everyone.

However, it is notable that Prof. Kanjilal admires him: "Mr. B.K. Thakore, who was the first man to venture a thought-provoking and all-round approach to the problem." (p. 3) It is a fact that his ardent voice for a reconstructed text is not heard properly by the Indologists. It is way past time that we pay attention to his words. (1919-2019)

[3]

3-0-0, Evaluation of critical editions of various recensions :

I will deal with all five recensions as mentioned in the prior (1-1) section. My evaluation will mainly be focused on the achievement and shortcomings of textual criticism in these critically edited recensions.

3-1-1, A Critical Edition of the Bengali Recension:

We are thankful to Dr. Richard Pischel for giving us a critical edition of this drama. But at the outset of this discussion on his Bengali recension, I should say that due to my ignorance of German language, I do not know about his specific views on - (a) a journey of the text of this drama as shown by him, and (b) independent features of this Bengali recension, (c) Prof. Weber was not in favor of any "recension" of this drama[13]. Later on Prof. Richard Pischel had given some reaction / rejection on Prof. Weber's opinion. But I am unable to read their debate as it is published in German language.

3-1-2 Whatever I can see through his critical edition of the Bengali recension is put together in three nutshells -

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(a) He has normalized the Prakrit language structure as per requirement of the S'auraseni Prakrit grammar. The reconstructed Prakrit portion of the drama is a remarkable success.

(b) But there are many lapses in his *critically edited* teti. At places there are some missing portions and contradictory statements. For example -

1. In the fourth act, Anusūyā narrates sorrowing situation created in the hermitage of Kaṇva Muni, while the heroine, S'akuntalā is ready to depart from the place. Here, after verse no. 18, there should be some reaction from S'akuntalā. But that dialogue is missing.

2. In the beginning of the second act, we are told that the king enters on the stage alone. But in a later scene he orders his servants to go away from the stage[14] !

3. In the sixth act, according to the Kashmiri and Maithili recensions, two maid servants are there, e. g. Medhāvini and Piñgalikā, Here, the Bengali recension reads: Caturikā, instead of Medhavini. But the Vidūṣaka has used the name, Medhāvini, instead of Caturikā (on page no. 86) ! The learned editor could not detect this contradiction in the transmitted text of Bengal, or rather he missed to see it.

(c) He could not detect some obvious interpolations also. For example:-

1. One and same idea is repeated in two verses in third act. (Adyāpi nūnam Hara-kopa-vahni 3-3 & Hara-kopāgni-dagdhasya Q 3-34).

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2. In the third act, S'akuntalā points out the presence of Riṣis in the hermitage by saying : *Porava, rakkha vinṇam, ido tado isavo sancanti.* After listening the caution, this aristocrat hero was supposed to go back in the hut surrounded by creepers with a note that *"katham prakās'am nirgato'smi* But between these dialogues, there is an interpolation of a verse :- Gāndhrveṇa *vivāhena.* (p.37, second edition)

These exemplified three (a, b and c) short comings of the Bengali text are remarkable because all of them are existing even after conducting the "Lower Criticism" by Dr. Richard Pischel. This kind of text, which emerges as a result of lower criticism, compels a text critic to attempt some "Higher Criticism." I have attempted this kind of higher criticism of the Bengali text, when I have edited the commentary of Candras'ekhar Cakravartti, viz. Sandarbha Dipikā[15].

3-1-3, Another critical text edition of the Bengali recension:

Dr. Deelip Kumar Kanjilal has put his all efforts to edit "a reconstructed text" of this drama. He has utilized many unknown and unused manuscripts of this drama; along with various citations of this drama. He claimed that he has prepared a "Reconstructed Text of Abhijñāna s'akuntalam". This is published by the Sanskrit College, Kolkata in 1980. Here, he has given a long introduction to prove that the longer (Bengali) version of this drama was prevalent even before the 10th century. On the bases of these external evidences, he urges that - "If evidences testify to the existence of the alleged enlarged version before the 10th century, it would be proper for us in the 20th century to accept the same as more authentic than any interpretative reconstruction."

3-1-4, Dr. Kanjilal consulted some S'āradā manuscripts for his "Reconstructed Text," which were available to him at the

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Bodleian Library, Oxford University. But he did not approve their independent value. However, those S'āradā manuscripts reserve the heritage of independent text tradition of Kashmiri recension.

3-1-5, Dr. Kanjilal has analyzed all the available recensions. He has shown that there are three types of manuscripts of Devanāgarī recension. Some of them contain a longer version, other manuscripts bare a mixture text and some manuscripts have a retrenched text only. But none of the editors of the Devanāgarī recension, including Otto Bohtalingk, Monier Williams, P. N. Patankar and Pt. Shri Rewaprasada Dwivedi Ji of Varanasi, has noticed (or tried to find / collect) the three types of Devanāgarī manuscripts. Recently I have collected more than 150 Devanāgarī MSS from across the country and found out that there are three different versions of this Devanāgarī recension. [Who they are interested in my primary findings they may watch my two YouTube videos :- (1) https://youtu.be/CttrEG-y2fc and (2) https://youtu.be/Ervy_pXC6_E , Here I have given the details of all these manuscripts & their variants etc.]

3-1-6, Dr. Kanjilal has also discussed the journey of the text. According to his opinion, the existing text tradition was originated from the Bengali recension. The Kashmiri text is generated to gather from the Bengali and the Newari texts. The mix and retrenched text of Devanāgarī recension is created from that Kashmiri text. The South Indian text of this drama is prepared with the help of Bengali and retrenched Devanāgarī texts at last stage. We can summarize his hypothesis by giving sequential order to these various texts :-The Bengali text stood first in chronological succession, the Kashmiri text stood second, the Devanāgarī text stood third and the South Indian text stood fourth. But he did not support this recurrent pattern by some internal evidences. He also kept silence over the chronological order of the Mithila text, though it is published in 1957.

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3-1-7, His "reconstructed text" is also not free from those shortcomings, which are there in Dr. Richard Pischel's edition ! (See : section-3-1-2) The presence of these short comings even in a "reconstructed text" of Dr. D. K. Kanjilal, leads us to conclude that higher criticism still did not take place properly.

3-2-1, The text of Devanāgarī recension of this drama is widely popular among general learners and readers of Sanskrit literature. There are three notable critically edited texts of this recension. But none of them is satisfactory. Otto Bohtalingk and Monier William had consulted not more than six manuscripts for their critical editions. In the third attempt, Prof. P. N. Patankar had utilized nine Devanāgarī manuscripts, nine published editions and some commentaries for his critical edition and claimed that it's the "Purer Devanāgarī Recension of the Abhijñāna s'akuntalam"(published in 1889). But this claim is not acceptable, because, to purify the transmitted text of Devanāgarī, he fully consulted Dr. Karl Burkhard's (1884) Roman transliteration of the S'ārāda birch-bark manuscript (no.192) at each stage. Consequently, his critical text turns into an "Eclectic text"! It will be interesting to note some examples of this eclectic text :-

1. He has accepted the name of Vidūṣaka as "Mādhavya", instead of "MāḌhvya". Here invariably every Devanāgarī manuscripts read the Prakrit word "MāḌhavya" in the Sanskrit dialogues of Duṣyanta. But the Sanskrit word accepted by Prof. Patankar is available in S'āradā manuscript (no. 192) only.

2. In the third act, S'akuntalā says to her friends : If you approve of it, proceed in such a way that I shall be an object of compassion of the saintly king. Otherwise, pour me the water (of my funeral obsequies). *Aṇṇhā sihcadha me udaam.* (p.60) This is the variant of Kashmiri recension. Here each and

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every Devanāgarī manuscripts read *"tilodaani'*, not "udaam.

3. In the beginning of the fourth act, there is an episode of curse of Durvāsā. In all available Devanāgarī manuscripts, Priyamvadā goes to Maharsi Durvāsā to beg for some relaxation in the curse. But in the text, edited by Prof. Patankar, it is Anasūyā, who goes to beg for that relaxation. He has accepted this variant from the s'āradā manuscript. (Prof. Patankar has given a foot-note on page no. 81: "a. This and subsequent speeches, up to the stage direction, are given according to A (i.e. manuscript no. 192) and F (i. e. a Bengali text)".

3-2-2, It is noteworthy that in Prof. Monier William's critically edited text also, the same kind of mixture can be seen easily. For example :

1. In the second act, a messenger, Karabhaka, enters and says : "The Queen-mother directs you that on the fourth day from this my particular fast, e. g. *Putra-piṇḍa pālana,* will end with the feast. There the Long- lived one should be present without fail." (M.W.p.90) This is the Bengali reading only. The Devanagari recension has a different reading here. The name of that fast in the Devanagari recension is "pravritta-pāraṇa'

2. In the third act, Priyamvadā says : "Friend, let a love-letter of hers be prepared. I shall hand it over to him, concealed among flowers, under the pretext of a gift from the worship of the deities." Here, in the Deva-nagari recension the word "Devatā-prasāda' is used for the gift. But Monier William

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has accepted a different word, e.g. *"Devatā-s'esā-pades'a"* for the gift. Once again, this reading belongs to the Bengali recension !

Prof. Monier William has utilized four Deva-nagari manuscripts, and two Bengali manuscripts. He has consulted three commentaries, written by 1. Kāṭayavema, 2. S'aṅkara and 3. Candra'-sekhara. He has also clarified in the introductory note (page : 10) that he never failed to consult the three commentaries before deciding on the reading of his text. But, as we know none of them is written on the text of Devanāgarī recension ! And Rāghava Bhaṭṭa's commentary, which is written on the Deva-nāgari recension, was not available (in either printed or manuscript form) to him ! Though unintentionally, but his "critical edition" also became an "Eclectic Text" !

One more point of his introduction attracts the readers. He has pointed out that the Deva-nāgari recension is thought by most scholars to be older and purer. (page-7) To justify this opinion, he hypothetically writes : "the MSS. of the Deva-nagari class chiefly found in the Upper Provinces of India, where the great demand has produced copyists without scholarship, who have faithfully transcribed what they did not understand, and, therefore, could not designedly alter. On the other hand, the copyists in Bengal have been Pandits, whose *cocöethes* for amplifying and interpolating has led to much repetition and ampli-fication". (page-7) But this kind of assumption cannot be accepted in the field of textual criticism as a final evidence. A critic is supposed to support his hypothesis by some other evidences. And a critic of a dramatic text should also think about some possibility of a "stage script"! It is quite possible that Kālidāsa might have written a longer version of this drama in origin, and later on, some unknown stage directors might have prepared an abridged text of the same to enact the play. It is quite possible that this type of abridged stage

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version might have been transmitted into these Deva-nagari manuscripts. So, one of the canons of a textual criticism : "a shorter text is more authentic / preferable than a longer text", OR "textus simplicior is earlier than the textus ornatior" may not be true for the text of a drama. The quoted canon is applicable to a text of Puranic literature or ancient epics.

3-2-3, Prof. Carl Cappeller (Leipzig) has also critically edited/ reconstructed the text of Deva-nagari recension.[17] The text of this drama is printed in Devanāgarī[18]. This is a unique attempt of reconstruction of the Devanāgarī text and deserves some special appreciation and comment. (1) Prof. Carl Cappeller has accepted only 189 verses. He has removed some verses, which were connected / presented by "apica" and *"tathāhi.* These types of verses are considered as gross interpolations by him ! For example : *"antrahite s'as'ini saiva kumudvatiO"* of the fourth act is removed. (2) The remarkable verse, e. g. *"gandharveṇa vivaahenO"* of the third act is also removed, and (3) in the fourth act, he has restored one Prakrit gāthā, which is a dialogue of S'akuntalā. (It is noteworthy here that three gāthās are preserved only in Kashmiri and Maithili recensions, but Cappeller has restored one new gāthā from a prose dialogue of S'akuntalā.)

I can not agree with the approach to remove all those verses, which are connected or introduced by *"api ca"*, *"athavā'* and *"tathāhi."* Here, some discrimination was/is needed. When there is bifocal-scene in the drama, like the wasp (bhramara-bādhā) episode in the first act, it is bare necessary for the poet to describe the situation by at least two verses. So, *"yato yataH ṣatcaraṇo-'bhivartate"* to describe the beauty of S'akuntala's eyes; and "Calāpaṇgām driṣṭim" to show the jealousy of the King, these two verses are inevitable.

3-2-4, It is necessary to comment on some popular editions of this Devanāgarī recension. Enthusiasts like M.M.

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Ishwarchandra Vidyasagar (1871), Shri M. R. Kale (1898), Prof. P. N. Patankar (1898-1902), Prof. S'arada Ranjan Ray (1908), Dr. Gauri Nath Shastri (1983) Dr. kapil Dev Dwivedi, 1958 and Pt.Dr. Rewaprasad Dwivedi (1976-1986-2008-2017) etc. have published their Devanāgarī texts individually. But all the editions prepared by them are based on eclectic principles only. Their editions do not deserve to be called a "critical edition". None of the editors has tried to go in to a detailed comparative study, and chalked out the journey of the original text. Most of them are drown by some prejudice. They are of the opinion that there are repetition and amplification in these longer versions. In this opinion there may be a partial truth. But on the bases of partial truth one cannot discard all three longer versions as spurious. There are two possibilities here: 1. There may be some repetitions and amplifications in these longer versions, or 2. There may be some abridgement in the shorter versions. So, a text critic should examine both the versions very carefully and logically, rather without any prejudice for any of them. If a critic can attest any intrinsic probability of some abridgement and interpolations, he will be able to reach at a right conclusion. There is no doubt that two shorter versions of this drama are full of abridgement and three longer versions are full of interpolations. At the same time, there are few interpolated verses in shorter versions and there are some abridged portions too in the Kashmiri and the Bengali longer versions. Perhaps, the original text of this drama did not transmitted fully and unaltered in any of these five recensions. At this point, I would also like to point out a third possibility that all these five versions may be reproduced as "regional stage scripts" only ! (Till this date nobody has thought about.)

3-2-5, The Devanāgarī text of 15th century is being used since last 150 years for teaching and learning purpose. [It was nobody else, but M. M. Ishwara-chandra Vidyasagar (1871), who paved for the Devanāgarī text in our academic society[19].] But,

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without any exception, all the printed editions of this Devanāgarī text are based on eclectic principle only and their editors have utilized only retrenched Devanāgarī manuscripts. Unfortunately, we are unaware of some Devanāgarī manuscripts, which contain a longer version of this drama[20]. And in the 11th century, Bhojarāja has quoted some verses and prose sentences from "this" Devanāgarī longer version in his S'riṅgāra-prakās'a ! So, it is the desideratum of our time to prepare a fresh critical edition of Devanāgarī recension in the light of this new material.

3-3-0, A Kashmiri recension is the third recension of this drama. Prof. G. Buhler purchased a S'āradā manuscript (no.192), of the "Abhijñāna-s'akuntalā" from S'rinagar in 1875. This S'āradā manuscript is the only one, which is written on a birch-bark. It's a unique piece. Later, in 1884, Prof. Karl Burkhard transcribed that S'āradā manuscript in to the Roman script and he noticed that this manuscript represents an independent recension of Kashmir region. But unfortunately, the birch-bark manuscript (no.192) went in to the dark[21]! It seems that nobody[22] has tried to locket any other S'āradā manuscript of this drama until 2015.

3-3-1, Prof. S. K. Belvalkar (Poona) wrote some articles[23], based on this S'āradā manuscript (no.192) during the 1923 to 1963. Dr. V. Raghavan published an edition of the Abhijñāna-s'ākuntalam, edited by Prof. S. K. Belvalkar in 1965 (publisher: Sahity Academy, New Delhi), without introduction, critical apparatus and variants in foot-notes etc. Declining health prevented Prof. Belvalkar from preparing a real critical edition. So, Dr. V. Raghavan wrote an introductory short note to that edition. There he said that he could see that he (S. K.Belvalkar) had taken here the Kashmiri recension. But it was not possible for scholars to check Dr. V Raghavan's assumption in the absence of any S'āradā manuscripts of this drama.

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Dr. V. Raghavan himself has declared in the NCC that the birch-bark manuscript no. 192 is lost from the Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts of B. O. R. I., Poona. Thus, the whole Indological world was in dark about the real text of Kashmiri recension up to 2018.

When I collected five S'āradā manuscripts, which also includes the MS. No. 192 and studied them in detail, I came to know that Dr. S. K. Belvalkar had not followed the S'āradā text tradition from beginning to end[24]. My thorough investigation says that his edition does not produce the text of Kashmiri recension, but it is a mixture of Kashmiri, Bengali and Devanāgarī texts. I should also note some other points for this so called edition of Kashmiri version : (1) Dr. Belvalkar did not accept the S'auraseni Prakrit forms of the S'āradā birch-bark manuscript (no. 192) in his edition, e. g. *ayyutta, apuravam, sauntala, yyeva e ic.* He replaced them in to Maharashtri Prakrit, e. g. *ajjautta, apuvvam, saundalā, jjeva* etc. (2) Dr. Belvalkar had discussed, in his article : "S'ringaric Elaboration in S'akuntala, Act-3" (published in 1929), that the lengthy love scene may be a genuine one. However, later on when he edited the full text (in 1965), he has given up this criticism and gave us "neither too short nor too long version" of the text. Here, he has omitted two love scenes, e. g. 1. The episode of the retying of the lotus wristlet, (mriṇāla-valaya) on the wrist of S'akuntalā, and 2. Seeing that S'akuntalā's eye is disturbed by pollen (parāga-raja), Duṣyanta offers his services to remove it. (These two scenes cover long time period, from noon to evening.) Therefore it is clear beyond doubt that it is an eclectic text only.

3-3-2, I have collected five S'aaradā manuscripts (during the years 2013 to 2015) and prepared a critical edition of the Kashmiri recension, which is now published by the Rashtriy Sanskrit Sansthan, New Delhi, 2018[25]. In the introduction, I

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have discussed several points regarding my critical edition in general and the Kashmiri recension in particular : (1) Description of five S'aaradā manuscripts and a genealogical tree of the same. I have mentioned some rules to constitute the critical text, (2) Five recensions, which are popular among scholars, are not created simultaneous in the different parts of India. So, it was necessary to find out a journey of the text. With the help of some internal and logical hints, I ventured to show the sequential order of their occurrence. (3) Concept of "Recension" may not be initiated on the differences of scripts or regions of manuscripts. A text critic is supposed to find out some critical points to bifurcate two or many flux of text traditions. On the bases of one major critical point, I have proved that there are only two recensions of the drama, viz. (a) S'āradā recension, that is Kashmiri text tradition and (b) all other four text traditions stand in opposition to the prior one. Because only S'āradā recension does not have any direct conflict from the side of a queen, e.g. Kulaprabhā, whereas in all other texts, (Maithili, Bengali, Dakshinatya and Deva-nagari) it does exist from the side of a queen, e.g. Vasumati. (4) I have pointed out that at many places the S'arada text tradition is supported by external and internal evidences. And it is also attested by some older citations. So, it is tested in detail that this text tradition preserves the most reliable text. (5) This is the oldest recension, because it is transmitted into the S'āradā script of the seventh century. -

3-4-0, The fourth recension is the "Maithili recension". Prof. Rama Nath Jha has critically edited the text of this recension from some manuscripts, written in the Maithila scripts. He has also edited two commentaries of S'aṅkara and Narahari along with the text of this drama. These two commentators adhere to the Mithila text tradition only. (Candras'ekhara Chakravartti, a commentator of Bengali text tradition, quotes S'aṅkara very often,

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but he considers S'ankara's text tradition as a different tradition than his own.) Dr. Rama Nath Jha had spent twelve years of his life for this important Maithila text. This edition is published by the Mithila Research Institute, Darbhanga (Bihar) in 1957.

3-4-1, Unfortunately, Sanskrit scholars have not paid proper attention towards this Maithili recension. On the contrary, some of them have tried to disapprove its independent value without going into detailed study. Dr. V.Raghavan, as a Convener of the Sahitya Academy's publications, wrote an editorial note on Dr. S. K. Belvalkar's edition of the Abhijñānas'akunatalam (in 1965). There, he wrote that - "More recently, the Mithila Institute, Darbhanga, brought out a new edition based on Maithili manuscripts. Its editor claims that this text represents a Maithili recension of the play, but such a fifth recension is not justified by facts. This text belongs to the Bengali-Kashmiri family, sometimes leaning towards the Bengali and sometimes towards the Kashmiri."[26] This remark has not only damaged the importance of this edition, but it is also an injustice to the Maithili recension. In my opinion, Dr. V. Raghavan did not try to penetrate into the situation. There must be some reason for this Maithili text to look like leaning towards Bengali text and sometimes leaning towards the Kashmiri text as well. If we can find out sequential order of these three recensions, it will give us a definite answer that why the Maithili text is similar at times to Bengali and at times to Kashmiri text.

I could not find any reference of Maithili recension in various articles of Prof. S. K. Belvalkar, which were written during 1923 to 1965. So we cannot know his opinion about this Maithili recension ! It would be of a good service to the textual criticism if somebody can find out it.

3-4-2, Dr. D. K. Kanjilal (in 1980) has discussed the numbers of stage directions found in all different recensions.

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He writes: "Comparison of the total number of stage-directions in each recension reveals a tendency for gradual increase from the Bengal to Mithila and from Mithila to Kashmir."[27] This remark leads us to think that according to his opinion the Bengali recension stands first in sequential order. And then comes Maithili and Kashmiri recensions at second and third order respectively. This sequential order can explain why the Maithili text is leaning sometimes towards Bengali texts and sometimes towards the Kashmiri text. But if we put the text of Bengali recension at a first level, we cannot prove many Bengali variants as original one. The most probable variants are found only in the Kashmiri recension, and they are not less in numbers. And some of them are transmitted in to the Maithili text, but not in the Bengali text. So, we are compel to place the Kashmiri recension at first level. And if we placed the Kashmiri recension first in sequential order, and the Maithili and Bengali texts at second and third order, then everything can be explained very easily and unambiguously !

3-4-3, The Maithili recension is different and independent from the Bengali and Kashmiri recensions. In the prelude of this text, there is a dialogue in the mouth of stage director (sūtradhāra) that - *"Ārye, rasa-bhava-vis'esa-diksha-guroH s'ri-Vikramādityasya Sāhasāṅkasya abhirūpa-bhuyiṣṭhā pariṣat"*. This variant dialogue is available in the Maithili text only. It suggests that this recension came into existence during the fourth century A. D. The king of Magadha, Chandra Gupta -2 is known as the "Sāhasāṅka", because he defeated the S'aka and killed him (and then got married with Dhruva-swamini Devi, his elder brother's wife).[28] After the victory over the S'aka, Chandra Gupta- 2 adopted the title of "S'ri-Vikramāditya" ! And the stage director of Mithila mentions here that he is staging the text of this Mithila region in front of this "S'ri-Vikramāditya", who is also known as the "Sāhasāṅka"! Here, without any delay, I should make it clear that though the

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text of this drama was redrafted during the time of Chandra Gupta-2, it stands second to the Kashmiri text. According to the chronological order of various scripts, the S'āradā script may be placed in the seventh century. But the transmitted text of Kashmir, which is preserved in the S'āradā manuscripts, is of very older period, i.e. of the second or third century. Because, only this Kashmiri recension preserves some intrinsically probable variants and is free from major interpolations.

Now, it's time to mention a critical point, which bifurcates the Maithili recension from the Kashmiri recension. In the sixth act, the Kashmiri recension does not exhibit any direct conflict / competition from the side of a queen, viz. Kulaprabhā. [when there was a curse of Rishi Durvāsā as an element of conflict in the drama, it was not of any use to show some another conflict.] It was first time introduced by the reviser / text-redactor of the Maithili text. This new text-redactor has introduced a queen, viz. Vasumati, who directly comes in to conflict with the maiden, Medhāvini, of the King, Duṣyanta. The poet, Kālidāsa has claimed that he is going to give a new and fresh (apoorva) drama (by introducing a new type of conflict, - a curse of Durvāsā), but this newly introduced conflict has destroyed it fully. Unfortunately, this interpolation of Maithili recension became so popular that it has been followed by rest of all three recensions (Bengali, Dakshinaty & Devanāgarī) in subsequent years[29].

3-5-0, A text of this drama, which is transmitted in minimum four South Indian scripts, e. g. Grantha, Nandi-nagari, Telugu and Malayalam, might have been preserved the fifth recension. But nobody has attempted to edit the South Indian text critically so far. Scholars have only paid their attention towards publication of South Indian commentaries (of Kātyavema, Abhirāma, S'rinivāsa, Charchā, Ghans'yam, Nilakantha) of this drama till date[30].

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3-5-1, Many renowned scholars have compared the text of South Indian tradition with the Devanāgarī text tradition, but they did not check the various differences. They have found that the two text traditions are similar up to ninety percent[31]. This kind of primary comparison leaded them to believe that the South Indian text tradition is also in support of the Devanāgarī text tradition. And that is the reason to believe, I presume, that their Devanāgarī text tradition is genuine one ! But this is grossly misunderstood jump over the problem.

3-5-2, Most of the scholars in past, hypothetically, believed that the Devanāgarī text tradition stands first and the South Indian text tradition stands only second. This may be true, if it is framed for the history of scripts only. But this is not true for the extant Devanāgarī and South Indian text-tradition of this drama. Factually speaking, scholars have never tried to fix the problem of priority among these two traditions. Most of the scholars are of the opinion that Devanāgarī text tradition is prior to the South Indian text tradition. Even Prof. Deelipkumar Kanjilal has placed the South Indian text at the fifth level.[32] If somebody raises a question that who abridged the longer version in to a shorter one of this drama first time? Then the importance of fixing priority among these two shorter versions will be understood very clearly. I have examined this problem and pointed out at some variants of Dakshinatya text which are intrinsically most probable variants, as compared to the Devanāgarī variants[33]. For example :-(1) An adjective of celestial nymphs, e. g. "tyakta-bhogāḥ is contextual and more suitable than the variant" *baddha-vairaH'* of the Devanāgarī text. (2) According to the South Indian text, in interlude of the act - 6, the fisher man says : "Bhaṭṭa, *tumha-kelae* me jJvide." Here, the Devanagari text reads it differently: *"Bhatta, aha kilis'e me ajive* ?" But looking to the context the South Indian variant is only logical and tenable. So,

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on the bases of these intrinsically probable variants of the South Indian text tradition, one can conclude that the South Indian text tradition is prior to the Devanagari text tradition.

[4]

4-1-0, Variorum Edition:

The survey and evaluation of these five recensions will not be completed without mentioning some remarkable efforts of collecting and recording all variants of this drama in a single volume. The Publication of various recensions and different commentaries of the play are definitely important, but it's equally important to collect and to put together all available variants. This type of field work is also an essential part of any textual criticism. [A collation of various variants of a particular text is also known as a "Variorum Edition".[34]]

4-1-1, Prof. T. Foulkes prepared "Kalidasa: Complete Collection of the Various Readings of the Madras Manuscripts" (Volumes 1 to 4). This massive work has been published by the Government of Madras, 1904. The scholar has tried his best to record the variants of all seven works of Kalidasa, which were available to him in the "Government Oriental Manuscript Library", at Madras. But he had used some alphabetical *siglum* for those Madras manuscripts, these are not verifiable today. Because, the manuscript library has marked them with numerical *sigla ! So*, it is very difficult and laborious work to identify particular variant in those numerically arranged manuscripts.

But, a very important point I should mention here is that in the collection of. Prof. T. Foulkes there were only South Indian manuscripts, which were stored in that Madras Manuscript Library. He has noted all variants and interpolated portions of all three longer versions ! Any researcher can check the entries noted in the

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name of (Pa A), (N), (K), (P n) *sigla*. This shows that even in the South Indian regions, a longer version of this drama in general and Kashmiri version in particular was prevalent at a point of time. (I have also observed in the anonymous commentary, i.e. Carca, that this commentator is also aware of Kashmiri variants !)

4-1-2, Prof. A. Scharpe' prepared the "Kalidasa - Lexicon", & it is published by Rijks-universiteit Te Gent, De Temple, Templhof 37, BRUGGE, (Belgie), 1954. In this lexicon, Prof. A. Scharpe' collected all available variants of (Sanskrit & Prakrit) prose portion in the Bengali (Edited by R. Pischel) and Devanagari (Edited by Carl Cappeller) texts. And he has collected all available variants of the poetry portion from the Bengali, Kashmiri, Devanagari and South Indian texts. Ha also included variants of verses from the texts of poetics, (which were listed by Hari Chand).

4-1-3, Prof. Rewaprasad Dwivedi has published a word index of Kālidāsa, viz. "Kālidāsa-s'abdānukrama-kośa", in 2017. Here, he has not given all available variants of Kālidāsa's works. But he has given a general word index with full text of all seven works of Kālidāsa. This type of word-index can serve, in a way, as a tool of textual criticism. We can utilize this word-index to measure frequency of a particular word and ultimately, it may help us to decide the probability of a particular variant, to some extent.

4-1-4, Recently, I have also prepared a book viz. "Abhijñāna s'akuntalā nāṭakasya pañca-raṅgāvrittayaH" is published by the Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan, Delhi, 2020), in this volume readers will get a full text of all five recensions and a "reconstructed" and restored" text of this drama. According to my findings these five recensions came into existence, most probably, in this order: (1) the Kashmiri, (2) the Maithili, (3) the Bengali, (4) the South Indian and (5) the Devanāgarī. So, I placed the texts of these recensions in the same order. In the

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foot-notes, every change in reading, interpolations and abridgement are clarified in a comparative way. In short, this volume can also serve as a "variorum edition" of this drama. Nevertheless, there is a detailed discussion in the beginning of all the five texts of these recensions, to demonstrate that these texts are reproduced as "stage versions" only. I should also add another point that all the texts of four recensions are offspring of the Kashmiri recension. After completion of my comparative study of these stage versions, I ventured to give a reconstructed and restored text of this drama[35].

[5]

5-1-0, A Journey of the Text:

When an editor prepares a critical edition of ancient or medieval text, which is transmitted through multiple manuscripts, he is supposed to conjecture a reverse pedigree (= some forefather of each individual) of extant manuscripts. A text-critic cannot reach up to lost archetype without this conjectural pedigree. This is an inevitable process of the lower criticism. Dr. Richard Pischel and other text-critics have done enough lower criticism for each recension and they have published their critically edited recensions of the Abhijñāna-s'akuntalam[36]. Now, we are supposed to find out a journey of the text. By the phrase: "a journey of the text", I mean sequential order in which they came into existence. This will also be called a pedigree of available recensions. But this kind of pedigree will give us a line of descendants. According to me, here begins some higher criticism and this will indicate a way out for preparing the most reliable "reconstructed and restored" text. This should be the ultimate goal of any textual criticism.

5-1-1 There is no authentic historical record of the text transmission in India. So prima facie it looks like an impossible

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job to find out a journey of the text. Kālidāsa wrote this drama in the Brahmi script of his age, i.e. the first or the second century B.C. Later, this script was redesigned / remoulded in different regions of India in multiple ways. At the same time, a text of the drama was also enacted on stage repeatedly. Every change in the script and every performance would have invited multiple changes in the text. So it is very difficult to conjecture a journey of the text. But we can formulate some hypothesis: Either these recensions would have come into existence independently in different regions of India, or they might have been generated / reproduced from one to the other over a period of two thousand years. After a detailed comparative study of all these five recensions, I have found that one of them has least interpolations and other four recensions have one common peculiar element of conflict. Then I understood that these recensions are not came into existence independently in different regions. But they are generated from one to another. And if it is like this only, then we are supposed to decide that which one is the oldest. So, I tried to decide among these five recensions, which one is the oldest. Looking at the development of various scripts, S'āradā script is nearest to the Brahmi script. So, it was necessary to examine the Kashmir! recension first. There I found many intrinsically probable variants and absences of some peculiar element of conflict. On the bases of this study I reached to the conclusion that the Kashmiri recension may be the oldest one. Contrary to this recension, in the Maithili, Bengali, Dakshinaty and Devanāgarī recensions one can find many unconvincing and dubious variants. Variants of these four recensions cannot be proved intrinsically probable. For example :—

(a) The episode of S'akuntalā's departure from the hermitage is narrated in the fourth act. According to the Kashmiri recension[37] S'akuntalā speaks to Kaṇva Muni: *"kadham dāṇim tādena-virahidā kari-sārtha-paribbhatt.hā karenukā via pānā dhāraissam"*.

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Contrary to this dialogue, other four recensions read it: *kadham tadassa aiikado paribbhattha Malaya-pa/vadummulidā via candana-ladā desantare jjvidam dharaissam.* The basic difference in two similes is notable here. Kashmiri recension gives a simile of "very young female elephant isolated from her group" to the heroine, S'akuntalā. But in the Maithili and other three recensions, she is compared with a creeper of sandal-plant, who is uprooted from the side of the mountain Malaya. Looking at two different similes, question may arise here that which one is penned by Kālidāsa? Lower criticism will advise one to choose a variant which is available in majority of the manuscripts/recensions; (or will advise you to select a variant which is available in the oldest manuscript / recension). If majority of documentary evidences are in favour of the "candaṇa-ladā', then you should accept that variant as a genuine one. But higher criticism will ask you to go beyond the numbers of documentary evidences (or older evidence). So, in this case, we have to check some geographical truth too. The hermitage of Kaṇva Muni is situated in foot-hills of the Himalaya, (not in the mountain of Malaya). S'akuntalā is born and grown up there only. She has never seen any plant of sandal-wood there. Whatever she has seen in her periphery is lots of various groups of elephants, wandering in the forest of Himalaya. So, it is obvious for her to compare herself with a young female elephant, who is isolated from her group. Another point is also notable here. In the simile of a sandal-plant, she is suggesting her own delicacy. But that is not relevant here. If she gives herself a simile of a lost young female elephant, there is a sense of anguish, danger and companionless. That is the most appropriate situation for S'akuntalā, while she is going alone to her husband's house. The variant of Kashmiri recension has no support from any other recension. Even though we can conclude that only the Kashmiri recension has preserved the most appropriate and authentic text here.

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(b) In the sixth act of the Maithili, Bengali, Daksinatya and Devanāgarī texts, there is a reference of some conflict from the side of a Queen, i.e. Vasumati. The maid servant, i.e. Caturikā / Medhāvini reports to the king that on her way, the box of brushes and paint was forcibly snatched from her hand by the Queen Vasumati. After listening this dialogue, the king alerts Vidūṣaka: Friend, the Queen is at hand; and she is also haughty with inflamed jealousy. Therefore, can you keep this portrait (of S'akuntalā) safely ? But comparing the same portion with the Kashmiri text, first we find a different name of the Queen, i.e. Kula-prabhā. And there is no indication of direct or indirect conflict from her side. Here, in the Kashmiri text, there is a quarrel between two maid servants only, i.e. Medhāvini and Piṅgalikā ! Here, the Queen, i.e. Kula-prabhā, does not show any jealousy. This is a very significant difference in the nature of conflict. Here, a text-critic is supposed to find out the original one. But for that purpose he should not check that "how many recensions are there in favour of a particular variant ? ""During the process of lower criticism, many critics do follow the "majority of the manuscript school"; (or at times, some critics may follow the "oldest manuscript school"). But, here we are not dealing with manuscripts. This is a case of conflicting recensions. So the number of recensions cannot become the deciding factor.

This dilemma can be solved by some higher criticism only: In the introductory part of this drama the poet has proclaimed that he has written a "New" and "apurva" (=an unequal with the previous dramas) drama, called "Abhijñāna-s'akuntalā". The poet has clearly suggested that in this drama a new kind of conflict is introduced, i.e. the curse of Durvāsā. So, there is no need to intensify the conflict from the side of older Queen. In his previous dramas, viz. 1. Mālavikāgnimitram and 2. Vikramorvaśiyam, he has already shown that how the older Queens create various types

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of hurdles in love affairs of the king. So, in the new drama, i.e. Abhijñānas'akuntalā, there is no need to repeat the same. Here, a critic is supposed to remember two adjectives, given in the introductory part of this drama. These two adjectives suggest that the indirect conflict shown by the Queen, though supported by majority of the recensions, should not be accepted as a reliable text. Here, the text of Kashmiri recension is the only reliable one, because it does not exhibit any conflict from the side of older Queen. Thus the text of Kashmiri recension only maintain the newness and "apurvatā" of the drama. In other words, those two adjectives, "New" and "apūrva" are fulfilled in the text of Kashmiri recension only.

5-1-2, Thus, if it is proved by the higher criticism that the text of Kashmiri recension is more authentic, as compared to other four recensions, we should accept the same as very close to the poet's composition and the oldest available recension. I would also like to strengthen my findings by quoting one citation from the Kāvyālaṅkāra-sutra-vritti (5-2-83) of Vāmana (700 A.D.) :-

In the beginning of the third act, there is a stage-direction in the Kashmiri recension : *tataH pravis'ati kāma-yanāvastho raja Vidūṣakas'ca.* Here the Maithili and the Bengali recensions have a different reading : *tataHpravis'atimadanāvastho rājā Vidusakas'ca.* There is a third variant in the texts of Daksinatya and Devanāgarī recensions,: *tataH pravis'ati kamayamanavastho raja Viduṣakas'ca.* Now, a question arises that out of three different variants which one might have been penned by Kālidāsa himself ? Scholars have explained the word, e.g. kāmayana : *"kāmasya yānam, yanabhuta avasthā yasya"* (=whose state is vehicle of love, full of love.) And Mammata comments that *"anityam āgamānus'asanam'*. It means that kāmayana and kāmayamāna, both are grammatically correct. Dr. Monier

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Williams says that these explanations are of course not natural. So, he accepts a third (Bengali) variant:"sa-madanāvastho'. But, Vaamana, who flourfshed in 9th century A. D., has given an aphorism that- *kāmayāna-s'abdaH siddho'nādis'cet"* (K.S.V. 5-2-83) Here he says that the word, e.g. kāmayāna, is correct. And what more we need ? If Kālidāsa himself has used the same word in his Raghuvamsham (Canto 19-50); it is now proved beyond any doubt that the reading of Kashmiri recension is penned by Kālidāsa himself !

To summarise the discussion, there are three supportive arguments with us to prove that the Kashmiri recension is more authentic than any other recensions :- (1) The Kashmiri text, which is transmitted and well preserved in a birch bark manuscript, is written in the oldest S'āradā script. (2) With the help of higher criticism we can prove that many readings of the Kashmiri recension are genuine. (3) Some variants of the Kashmiri recension are also attested by citations of the older texts on poetics.

5-1-3, On the bases of the fore citied three evidences, we can conclude that the Kashmiri recension is the oldest one among available five recensions. Now, when the beginning of the journey of the Abhijñāna-s'akuntalā is decided very firmly; it will be easy for us to find out a sequential order of other recensions. It is said that the Maithili text is sometimes leaning towards the Kashmiri recension and sometimes leaning towards the Bengali recension. If a comparative study can give us such type of impression, it is possible to find out the hidden reason behind it: Wherever the text of Maithili recension is different from the Bengali recension; and it is similar to the text of Kashmiri recension, we should place the Maithili recension at second level. And, wherever the variants of Maithili recension do not match with the text of the Kashmiri recension; but they match with the text of Bengali recension, it is possible to infer

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that those variants and interpolations were not available in the Kashmiri recension. But they might have been introduced in the text of Maithili recension first, and later (means at third level) they were accepted by the Bengali recension. Thus, by placing the text of Maithili recension after the oldest one, the Kashmiri recension, and placing it prior to the Bengali text, we can easily explain the question: "Why the Maithili recension is sometimes leaning towards the Kashmiri recension and sometimes towards the Bengali recension ?" The following instances prove this conjecture:

(a) In the third act, Duṣyanta and S'akuntalā get married secretly by following the Gāndharva rituals of marriage. Here, there is a series of erotic scenes. So, many text-redactors or stage directors might have interpolated some spurious erotic verses here. In the Kashmiri recension there are 35 verses in this act, in the Maithili recension there are 40 verses and in the Bengali recension there are 41 verses. Increasing numbers in each recension suggest the sequential order in which they came in to existence. Here, it will be interesting to go into some details : There are two verses, e.g. *tava kusuma-s'aratvamO* (3-4) and then, *S'akyo'ravindasurabhiO* (3-5) in the Kashmiri text. At the second level, the Maithili text has interpolated three verses more, e.g.1. *anis'amapiMakara-keturO*, 2. *Vrithaiva sahkalpa-s'atairO*, and 3. *Sammilantina tavad bandhan-kosaO*. But, in the Bengali recension we find one more verse, e.g. *s'as'ikara-vis'adanyasyasthaO*, which is inserted between *stananyastos'iramO*. And *ksama-ksama-kapolamananamO* these verses.

(b) In the Kashmiri recension, the name of Duṣhyanta's wife, (Queen) is Kula-prabhā. At a point, Duṣyanta asks his maid servant, i.e. Medhāvini to bring a box of brushes and some paint, in the sixth act. After some time she enters on the stage

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and reports that on her way back, it was forcibly snatched from her by the maid servant of the Queen, i.e. Piṅgalikā. So, here there is quarrel between two maid servants. The same episode is depicted differently in the Maithili recension. Here, the name of the Queen is changed, it is "Vasumati". And, Medhāvini reports that on her way back, it was forcibly snatched, from her by the Queen, i.e. Vasumati herself. Vidūṣaka also gives a word of caution that the tigress of a queen-palace is rushing towards deer like Medhāvini to kill her. Even, the king also supports the words of Vidūṣaka by saying that the queen is haughty with inflamed jealousy. Thus, some indirect conflict from the side of a Queen (co-wife) is newly introduced first time in the Maithili recension. Here, the Bengali text has introduced a third change. A redactor of the Bengali text has replaced the name of Medhāvini by new name, i.e. Caturikā. And conflict in case of the Queen, Vasumati is accepted from the Maithili text without any change. Now, we can find a concrete evidence for the sequential order of these three recensions from the Bengali text. Once a text-redactor has introduced a new name, e.g. Caturikā for Medhāvini, he was expected to stick to it throughout the sixth act. But, fortunately or unfortunately he missed it at one place ! Let us read the episode according to the Bengali text : The king had asked his maid servant, e.g. Caturikā to bring a box of paint and brushes, but later on when she returned in a terrified mood and with empty hand. The King asked, "O Caturikā, what happened ?". She narrated the reason behind her destructed efforts. Now, Vidūṣaka hears some voice from the back, inviting the Queen on the stage. So he creates panic with a dialogue: "The tigress of a lady-palace is rushing towards deer like Medhāvini to kill her." Here, absent minded redactor of this Bengali text[38] writes the old name, i.e. Medhāvini, instead of that changed name, i.e. Caturikā ! This kind of mistake leads us to infer that the Bengali text, which came down to us, was

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rewritten / reproduced at a third level only.

It is interesting to note that, at a fourth level, the South Indian text redactor has accepted that new name Caturikā. But changing the names of actors and actresses goes on further. So, in the South Indian text, we find that the name of another maid servant, e.g. Piṅgalikā is also changed as "Taralikā" ! Here, changing names of the dramatic personae is the indicator of sequential order of these recensions. (Between the South Indian and Devanāgarī recensions, which one stands first ? This point has been dealt in section: 3-5-2, & shown that the South Indian recension is prior to the Devanāgarī recension.)

5-1-4, The fore going discussion compels us to come to the conclusion of specific sequential order of these recensions, i.e. (1)The Kashmiri, (2) the Maithili, (3) the Bengali, (4) the Daksinatya and lastly (5) the Devanāgarī recensions. First three recensions present a longer version of this drama, where we can find some more authentic text preserved. And a shorter version of this drama is transmitted in the last two recensions. This diagram will make the point very clear :

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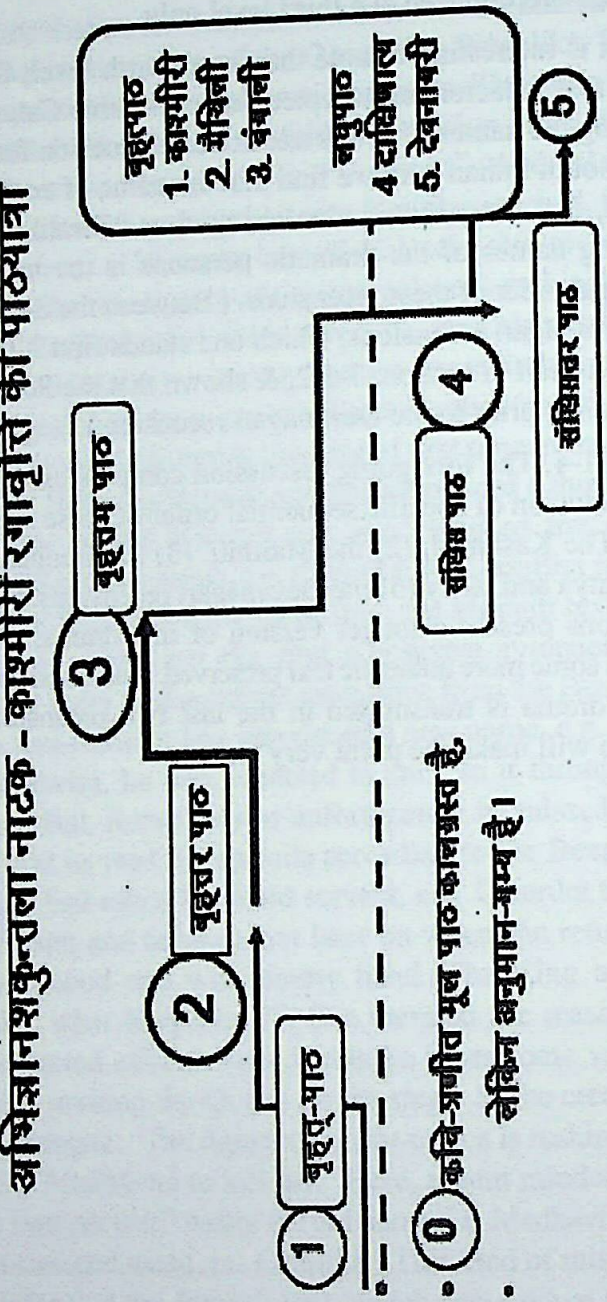

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Once the journey of the text (means a definite sequential order in which they came into existence) is decided, we can have a picture of the oldest available recension and subsequent changes will be understood clearly, including each and every interpolations and abridgements in the transmitted texts of the various versions. This will paved road for the "reconstruction and restoration of the most authentic text". This text, which is prepared as discussed in the above paragraphs, will be nearer to the intended text of the original author. This is the ultimate goal of any textual criticism.

[6]

6-1-1, My Contribution:

Before I conclude my discussion on the topic, i.e. The Abhijñāna s'akuntalā-230 years of Textual Criticism, I would like to mention my research works in brief.

(1) First of all, it was necessary to prove that there is an abridgement in third act of the Devanāgarī and Dakshinaty recensions. Here, in the plot, the "unity of time" is not maintained. This has proved that there is an abridgement in the text of Devanāgarī recension. This point was mentioned by Prof. S. K. Belvalkar in his article:" S'ringaric Eloboration in Śākuntala -Act: 3, published in Indian Studies in Honour of C.R. Lanman, Harvard University Press, 1929, pp. 187-192". I am inspired by this article and tried to strengthen this point with some new points. My article was published by Dr. Radhavallabh Tripath, Sagar, in "Nāṭyam" (vol.71-74, p. 27-57, 2012)

(2) In the field of textual criticism, it is understood that interpolations are less harmful than any abridgement in the original text. If we find in the shorter versions of this drama that there is something lacking or missing in the flow of some

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episode, it becomes a challenging task to restore those lost portions of the Dakṣinatya and Devanāgarī texts. But we are lucky enough to have three longer versions available with us. And, by the citations available in Sanskrit poetics it is proved beyond any doubt that, chronologically, these three longer versions are prior to the shorter two versions. Vāmana, Ānandavardhana, Bhoja, Gaṇaratna-mahodadhi, Hemacandra and Vis'vanatha etc. have quoted many verses from the longer versions of this drama[39]! Unfortunately, in the past history of textual criticism, many critics have ignored the longer version, with excessive prejudice.[40] This has been continued up to the present time. So, I started examining the Bengali text. There I found many interpolations, which were introduced with the help of some indeclinable like: *"api ca"*, *"athavā"* and *"tathāhi"*, but at the same time, I observed that some genuine portions are preserved too. So, I thought that here, a bit of literary criticism (which includes harmony in narrated episode = unity of action and stylistics etc.) can be useful in textual criticism. However, this kind of higher criticism should not be effected by subjectivity, and it can be helpful to decide what is intrinsically probable / appropriate and what is not. This type of literary criticism,[41] which I've undertaken, has proved that there were two scenes in the original text of the third act, but unknown redactors of the shorter version, e. g. Dakshinatya text, might have curtailed them. It would be interesting to indicate those two scenes: (a) Duṣyanta ties a stalk of lotus (mriṇala-valaya) on the wrist of heroine, S'akuntalā and (b) S'akuntalā is distressed by her pollinized eye, *(pushpa-rajasa kaluṣi-kritā drishṭi)*, and Duṣyanta offers his services to remove it by his mouth-blow (vadana-māruta). This episode is proved stylistically as genuine one by the line in the sixth act, *"s'ringe Krishna-mrigasya vaama-nayanam kaunḍuyamanam mrigim."* Any

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"sahridaya"spectator will see that there is some inter connection between these two episodes.

In these two scenes of real love affair is depicted in the second half of the third act; and some loutish interpolations are introduced in the first half. This contradiction itself becomes an evidence that the loutish portions on the first half of the act is not original. Because in this portion there are some uncultured verses in the mouth of Duṣyanta. They are not harmonious with the second half. (The reclining position of the heroine on the stage might have invited those interpolations in the first half.)

(3) Restoration of the third act is most problematic, because, during the time of two thousand years, many deviations in the transmitted text of this drama has been introduced. No text-critic has identified that there are four types of variants in this act. Such as;- (a) interpolations of uncultured verses and dialogues, (b) Central scene of the "Reclining S'akuntala" has been ruined by introducing contradictory stage-directions, (c) daughter of a sage, i.e. Kaṇva Muni, has been transformed into a daughter of "Rajarshi", i.e. Vis'vāmitra and (d) the longer text has been abridged by curtailing two scenes. Without identifying these four debatable points, every critic is stressed and struggling only with the erotic interpolations. They think that it is the only problem in this act; since 1789. But, I think that interpolations in this act are not a major issue. In my view, the first scene of this act, e.g. *"kusuma-s'ayanā S'akuntalā"* is the central issue and it can be solved by higher criticism only. This issue should be solved first: In this scene the heroine, S'akuntalā, is depicted as reclining on a flower-bed. According to a rule of the Nāṭya-shastra, dramatists are not allowed to depict any scene where somebody has to recline / sleep on the stage. But, some genius poet or real stage-artist may take liberty as per his/her requirement. Kālidāsa is one of them. So, the first scene of the

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third act opens with the reclining position of S'akuntalā. And, the fear of Bharata Muni is proved to be true ! Here, some stage directors, while enacting the reclining position of a heroine, might have been tempted to introduce some erotic verses. This kind of interpolations and variants in some dialogues entered at a first level. Later on, looking towards these uncultured verses, some other stage-directors started to think that how to stop this kind of decadence in the text ? They have manipulated with the reclining position of S'akuntalā, and introduced a way out to curtail those moments. They might have interpolated new stage-directions *(upavishtaa / aasinaa chintayati)* to introduce the heroine in a seating position, while she is writing a love-letter for the hero. Then, the hero appears before those lady-friends, Anasūyā offers him a seat on the same stone-slab where the heroine was now siting. Dushyanta takes his seat there only. Here, those stage-directors have interpolated the second stage-direction: "Shakuntala stands with bashfulness" *(S'akuntala salajjaa tishṭhati),* and due to this second stage-direction the whole presentation is now changed ! In fact, in this scene, the poet Kālidāsa wanted that the heroine stays in the reclining position for a long time. (This reclining position starts from the beginning of the scene, and while writing the love-letter also she is supposed to be in the same position only. Even when Dushyanta seats beside her on the same stone-slab, she is supposed to be in the reclining position.) It is only when she continues her sleeping position for such a longer period, that the wordings of a particular verse, e.g. *"aṅke nidhāya caranavuta padmatāmrau, samvāhayāmi Karabhoru ! yathasukham te"*, (O Beautiful Lady, may I, to comfort you, lightly press your feet, which are as red-lotuses, having placed in my lap ?) prove to be appropriate. Despite of this verse, some stage-directors have interpolated two stage-directions to curtail the long period of reclining position

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of the heroine. But, they made a blunder also ! When the hero offers his services to her, they have interpolated third stage-direction, e.g. *"utthāya gantum icchati"* (means- Rises and offers to go). Now, imagine the presentation of the scene: The hero is seating on the stone-slab and the heroine is standing by him, and the hero asks her to take her feet in his lap ! How ugly would the scene be created by these newly added three stage-directions ! This disgusting picture is available in longer versions. Later on, the redactors of two shorter versions have tried to improve the scenario. They have manipulated that verse by changing the word-order. This verse has a variant like this : *"anke nidhaya Karabhoru yathaa-sukham te, samvaahayaami charanaavuta padamtaamraiu.* But, this so called improvement does not reach a desired goal. According to this newly framed word-order, we find meaning like this:- "O Beautiful Lady, may I, to comfort you, lightly press your feet, which are as red-lotuses, having placed You in my lap ?" In my view, when the poet himself has thought a scene, in which the heroine is supposed to continue her reclining position for a long period, that scene should be restored in its original form, so that, the particular verse becomes suitable to the episode. For such restoration of the scene, we have to remove all those three interpolated and contradictory stage-directions from this act.

6-1-2, Conclusion:

Higher Criticism is the fourth part of any textual criticism, where a critic is supposed to go beyond the manuscript evidence. In the case of textual criticism of the Abhijñānas'akunatalā we can find out some repetitions, contradictions and diversions also. These irregularities can be a main guiding and leading indicators to detect interpolations, abridgements and variants of the later periods very logically. If all these variations of different versions can be proved intrinsically improbable, they should be removed

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from the transmitted texts of various recension. Then he should go for reconstruction and restoration of any traditional / ancient / medieval text. Once a text-critic reaches up to the reconstructed and restored text by some higher criticism, and his findings are supported from the archaeological side, his conclusions are fully accomplished.

6-1-3, I should mention one remarkable article in support of my higher criticism. Dr. Bahaddur Chand Chhabara has written an article, entitled: "S'akuntalā in S'unga Sclpture [42]", in which he has proved that there is a sculpture in Mathura style of S'unga period, which presents the heroine, S'akuntalā in a reclining position !

And, if this sculpture presents the particular scene of the third act of Abhijñāna- s'akunatalam, my higher criticism is now authenticated by an archaeological proof.

6-1-4, Some scholars are of the opinion that Kālidāsa was flourished in the Gupta period (4* or 5th century A. D.), but looking to the sculpture of S'unaga period, where a particular scene of the Abhijñānas'akunatalam is depicted, their opinion should be discarded for ever on the bases of fore citied archaeological evidence. Thus, the output of this higher criticism is very exciting; the sculpture of S'unga period compels us to place our poet, Kālidāsa in the second century B. C.

I hope that my foregoing discussion of the first Indological topic, viz. "Textual Criticism of the Abtiijñāna-s'akuntala during last 230 years" will be able to guide new generation to go further in various directions of the topic.

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किं शीतलैः क्लमविनोदिभिरार्द्रवातं,
संचालयामि नलिनीदलतालवृन्तैः ।
अङ्के निधाय चरणावुत पद्मतास्रौ
संवाहयामि करभोरु ! यथासुखं ते ।। अभि. शकु. 3-19 ।।

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* This lecture was delivered at the 50th Session of the All India Oriental Conference, Kavikula-Guru Kālidāsa Sanskrit University, Ramtek, Nagpur, 10-12 January, 2020. And Published in the Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vadodara, Vol.71, 2022, pp.19-57

Foot Note :

1 Sacontala; Or The Fatal Ring : An Indian Drama by Calidas, Translated by Sir William Jones, 1789.

2 "Would'st thou the young year's blossoms and the fruits of it's decline, And all by which the soul is charmed, enraptured, feasted, fed, Would'st thou the Earth and Heaven itself in one name combine ? I name thee, O Śākuntalā ! and all at once is said." -A History of the Sanskrit Literature, by V. Varadachari, Tirupati, p. 147

वासन्तं मुकुलं फलं च युगपत् सर्वं च तद् ग्रीष्मण :
यत् किंचिन्मनसो रसायणमथो संतर्पणं मोहनम् ।
एकीभूतम् अभूतपूर्वमथवा स्वर्लोक-भूलोकयो -
रैश्वर्यं यदि कोऽपि कांक्षति, तदा शाकुन्तलं सेव्यताम् ।
अनु.पं.ताराकुमार कविरत्न

3 This article was published in "Śākuntala", Kedar Nath Dasgupta, Mac Millan & Co. Ltd; London, 1920

4 Kālidāsa's Sakuntala, the Baṅgali Recension, Ed. Richard Pischel, Harvard University Press, second edition, 1922

5 I have succeeded in producing a more correct edition of the Devanāgarī recension, than those of Dr. Boehtlingk and Dr. Burkhard, the merit is due to the more ample materials at my command. M.W. Introduction, p. 8

6 Detailed Report of a Tour in Search of Sanskrit MSS. (in Kashmir, Rajputana and Central India), by G. Buhler, Asiatic Society, Bombay, 1877.

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7 Die Kashmirer Cakuntala, Roman Transcription of a Bhoorj-patra, no. 192, Ed. Karl Burkhard, Wien, 1884.

8 The Bengali text of the drama with this commentary are edited by Prof. Vasantkumar M. Bhatt and published by National Mission for Manuscripts, New Delhi, 2013

9 For example : Gangadhara Mehera's poetry : "Pranaya-vallari", an adaption of Abhi. S'akuntalam in Udiya language.

10 A variorum, short for (editio) cum notis variorum, is a work that collates all known variants of a text. It is a work of textual criticism, whereby all variations and emendations are set side by side so that a reader can track how textual decisions have been made in the preparation of a text for publication. The Bible and the works of William Shakespeare have often been the subjects of variorum editions, although the same techniques have been applied with less frequency to many other works. (Wikipedia)

11 it is therefore, right and proper that the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal should decide to commemorate the bicentenary of Sir William by launching a scheme for a variorum edition of this drama. See :- "The Śākuntala Problem", by Kshetreshchandra Chattopadhyay, published in the Sir Williams Jones Bicentenary of his birth commemoration volume, Asiatic Society, Kolkata, 1948, p. 147.

12 The Text of S'akuntlā, by B. K. Thakore, (presented in 1919) and published by D. B. Taraporewala Sons & Co., Bombay, 1922 It is reprinted by Kavi-kalguru Kalidas Sanskrit University, Ramtek, Nagpur, 2020.

13 Prof. Weber has questioned the reasonability of using the term "recension" with reference to the regional texts of the S'akuntalam. See : Indische Studien, 14-35, ff. 161-311.

14 *"As.o baṇāsana-hattho... āgacchadi piavaasso". (p.17), then "(parijanamavalokya) mrigayāveṣamanayantu bhavantaH" (p.21)* Dr.Pischel's second edition.

15 See the Introductory part of Abhijnanas'akunatalam, with

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the Sandarbha-deepikaa, Ed. V. M. Bhatt, National Mission for Manuscripts, New Delhi, 2013, pp. 32 to 93.

16 A Reconstruction of the Abhijñānas'akuntalam, Ed. By Prof. D. K. Kanjilal, Sanskrit College, Kolkata, 1980, p. 132

17 Kālidāsa's Śākuntala : Kurzer textform, mit kristischen und erklarenden, Anmerkungen hrsg, Von Carl Cappeller, Leipzing, H. Haessel, 1909.

18 I cannot read German language. So, 1 could not know about his discussion on the criteria of his reconstructed text through his introduction to this edition.

19 In presenting an acceptable text mainly for the students, the great humanists reformer eschewed the greater portion of the 3rd act as un-delectable, & bolstered the cause of the retrenched text accepted by Raghava Bhatt, so much that the whole literary world almost veered round Is'varacandra in espousing the retrenched text as the genuine text of the drama. -See : D.K.Kanjilal's introduction, p.173

20 I have collected and collated more than sixteen Devanāgarī manuscripts, which contains a longer version of the third act of this drama.

21 See :- New Catalogues Catalog rum, Ed. Dr. V. Raghavan, Univ. Of Madras, 1968, (Part-1, page : 282-283).

22 Mr. Somadev Vasudeva has published English translation of Karl Burkhard's transliteration in 2006. It is published by the Clay Sanskrit Library, New York Uni. Press

23 See : (1) The Application of a few canons of textual & Higher criticism to Kālidāsa's S'akuntala, pub. Asia Major, Leipzing, pp. 78-104, in 1923; (2) The original Śākuntala, pub. Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Vol. 3, Orientalia, Part-2, pp. 344-359, Calcutta, 1925; (3) S'ringaric Eloboration in Śākuntala - Act : 3, pub. Indian Studies in Honour of C. R. Lanman, Harvard University Press, in 1929, pp. 187-192; (4) Kālidāsa's Abhijnanas'akuntala - It's dramatic Setting, Vikrama Vol.,

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pp. 45-55, Ujjain, 1948; (5) Entract to Act 7, (Natak and Nartan), Vol. 20, pp. 19-24, Bulletin of Daccan College Research Institute, Poona, 1950; and (6) Nisarga Kanya S'akuntals (in Hindi),pub. In Kālidāsa Granthavali, Translated by Sita Rama Chaturvedi, Bharat Prakashan Mandir, Aligarh, 1962,pp. 59-70

24 I could guess that the birch bark manuscript (no.192) was in his custody at least for forty years. (1923 -1965)

25 Google archive: https://archive.org / details /Abhigyan Shakuntala1,

26 The Abhijnanas'akunatala, text as edited by S. K. Belvalkar, Sahitya Akademi, Delhi, 1965, Preface, p. 3.

27 A Reconstruction of the Abhijnanas'akuntalam, Ed. Deelipkumar Kanjilal, Sanskrit College, Calcutta, 1980, Introduction, Chapter-2, p.55.

28 He was a son of the King Samudra Gupta, who was known as the "Parākramāṅka".

29 See-Abhi.s'aku. Ka Patha-paramarsh : https://archive.org/details/ShakuntaiamTextualCriticism

30 The first edition of Abhijnanas'akuntalam, with the commentary of Katayavem was published In Telugu script, from Madras in 1876 .

31 1 have adopted the first (=Devanāgarī) one which corresponds with the fourth= Dakshinatya up to 90%. See: The Kālidāsa Granthavali, Ed. Prof. Rewaprasad Dwivedi, B. H. U., Varanasi, 1986 (Introduction p. 16)

32 See : The Abhijnanas'akuntalam, Ed. D.K. Kanjilal, Calcutta, 1980, (Introduction, Chapter- 2, pp. 73-77)

33 The periodical "Natyam" (vol. 77, pp. 33-58), Ed. Dr. Radhavallabh Tripathi, Sagar, 2015

35 Uccatara-smikshaa ke Aaloka me Abhijnanas'akuntalaa Nataka ke Shradheya Patha ka Punargathana, pub. By the Kavi-kulaguru Kālidāsa Sanskrit University, Ramtek, Nagpur on the occation of AIOC. (50th Session), Io-12 January, 2020.

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36 It is notable that in the title of this drama there are three variants: 1. in the Kashmiri recension it is : "Abhijñāna-s'akuntalā natakam", 2. In the Maithili and Bengali recensions it is: Abhijnana'Śākuntalam, but 4. In the Dakshinatya and Devanāgarī recensions it is: the Abhijñāna s'ākuntalam.

37 The Abhijnanas'akuntalā Natakam of Kashmiri recension, Edited by Prof. Vasantkumar M. Bhatt, Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan, Delhi, 2018, p. 492.

38 See : Abhi. S'akuntalam, Critically ed. By Richard Pischel, Harvard Uni. Press, 1922, page - 85 and 86, & the edition of Dr. Kanjilal, page - 324.

39 D.K. Kanjilal has given a detailed list of these citations in the Appendix -1,(pp.429-439) of his edition.

40 Prof. P. N. Patankar: The Bengali text has been so hopelessly tampered with that we cannot depend upon even the oldest manuscripts of its class, surcharged as they are with repetitions & disproportionate amplifications. (second edition, 1902)

41 See : Abhi, S'akuntalam : kriti-samikshaa se paatha-samikshaa, pub. Hyderabad Sanskrit Academy, Osmania University, 2010

42 Roopa-lekha, (Volum-38, no. 1&2), All India Fine Arts and Crafts Society, New Delhi, 1969, pp. 195-199.

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१. अभिज्ञानशकुन्तलम् । (बंगाली वाचना का समीक्षित पाठसम्पादन), स. रिचार्ड पिशेल, हार्वर्ड युनिवर्सिटी प्रेस, (प्रथमावृत्ति - १८७६, द्वितीयावृत्ति-१९२२)

२. अभिज्ञानशकुन्तलम् । (चन्द्रशेखर चक्रवर्ती की सन्दर्भ-दीपिका टीका एवं बंगाली पाठ की समालोचना), सं. वसन्तकुमार म. भट्ट, राष्ट्रिय पाण्डुलिपि मिशन, दिल्ली - २०१३.

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३. अभिज्ञानशकुन्तलम् । (मैथिल-पाठानुगम्), (शङ्कर-नरहरि-कृतव्याख्याद्वयसंयुत्तम्), सं. श्री रमानाथ झा. मिथिला विद्यापीठ, दरभङ्गा, (बिहार), १९५७

४. अभिज्ञानशकुन्तलम्। (देवनागरी वाचनानुसारी पाठ), सं.गौरीनाथ शास्त्री, केन्द्रीय साहित्य अकादेमी, दिल्ली, १९८३

५. अभिज्ञानशकुन्तलम् । (देवनागरी वाचना का शुद्धतर समीक्षित पाठसम्पादन), सं. पी. एन. पाटणकर, इन्दौर, १९८९, १९०२

६. अभिज्ञानशकुन्तलम्। (बंगाली वाचनानुसारी), (AReconstruction of the Abhijnanasakuntalam), सं.दिलीपकुमार काञ्जीलाल, संस्कृत कोलेज, कोलकाता-७०००७३, १९८०

७. अभिज्ञानशकुन्तलम् नाटकम्। (शारदा-पाण्डुलिपियों में संचरित हुई काश्मीरी वाचना का समीक्षित पाठ-सम्पादन), सं. वसन्तकुमार म.भट्ट, प्रकाशक, राष्ट्रिय संस्कृत संस्थान, दिल्ली, २०१८

८. अभिज्ञानशकुन्तलम् ।(किशोरकेलि व्याख्या एवं राष्ट्रभाषानुवाद), सं.कान्तानाथ शास्त्री तेलंग, चौखम्बा संस्कृत सीरीझ आफिस, वाराणसी, १९६०

९. अभिज्ञानशकुन्तलम् । (राघवभट्टकृतार्थद्योतनिकया सनाथीकृतम्), सं.नारायण राम, राष्ट्रिय संस्कृत संस्थान, दिल्ली, २००६

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11.

Shri K.K. Shastri : As An Editor of the Bhāgavata - Mahāpurāṇa

We stamp the Rgveda, the Yajurveda etc. as 'revealed' literature, i.e. they are said to be "a-pauruṣeya" i.e. not written by an individual. As against that the 'kavya' and 'nāṭaka' are written by human agency and there is a fixed author of such writing. Thus they have a "single author" or, they are "*eka-kartṛka*". But the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata are said to be 'Māhākavyas, with a tendency to grow', i.e. they are "Epics of growth". The reason is that a number of authors have added to their quota through out the length of time. There are additions and changes in the original body of the texts, through out the course of centuries for they are the 'Kathākāras', i.e. narrators, who through the medium of oral tradition before village people, that have kept these epics alive and have passed over orally the text from generation to generation, Hence such multi-authored '*aneka-kaṛtrka* "writing is stamped as 'prokta' or narrated works. In such a class of literature the purāṇas and upa-purāṇas are also included.

We are familiar with such accounts that Vālmiki taught the singing of the Rāmāyaṇa to Lava and Kuśa, or that Vyāsa got the Mahābhārata written through the agency of Lord Gaṇapati, and then Vaiśampayana and the suta-purāṇis, i.e. bards,

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through the medium of oral rendering and kirtana, i.e. music, pupularised the same in temples of small villages. Similarly it is held that Veda-Vyas composed the Bhagavata purāṇa (B.P.) and his son Śukadeva narrated the same before king Parikṣita. Thus the problem is how to determine the "Original text" of such 'Pralcta'-narrated type of literature. This has been a topic of discussion among the orientalists of to-day.

2

In preparing the critical editions of such 'prokta' works as the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata, as a first step different recensions were ascertained with the help of comparative study of collation-sheets. Then such measures as to which recension contains more of archaic forms, or which one is less ornate, or which one contains a simple and short text-tradition etc., are applied as various approaches to determine the original text. Then some text is determined as "authentic". The editors of *'prokta'* literature as the Mahābhārata of such a vast magnitude, have not claimed that they have arrived at the final reading of the archetype of the said work. On the other hand they have equally respected all traditions of various readings contained in different versions spread all over India, and have edited the text in such a way that all Indians would feel that it is 'their Mahābhārata'. The commentator Nilakaṇṭha also while writing his commentary, viz. "भारतभावदीप" had looked into various traditions prevelent all over India[1] and by "guṇopasaṁhāra-nyāya"-i.e. through discrimination, he selected the best readings and wrote his commentary on the same. Similarly, S. K. Belvelkar & others, who prepared the critical edition of the Mahābhārata for the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune, followed the "Eclectic Principle" and traced to establish the widely accepted readings.

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3

The scholars in Pune and Vadodara, prepared critical editions, respectively of the Mahabharata and the Rāmāyaṇa. Following their scholars from Ahmedabad, started preparing a critical edition of श्रीमद् भागवत - महापुराण in year 1996 A.D.

It is noteworthy that Shri K.K. Shastri has been associated with this work from its beginning to its completion. It will be only half truth to say that he has done text-editing on the evidence of various text-traditions reproduced on the collation-sheets. Virtually he had moved around in various libraries of manuscripts in the south of India, taking Dr. K. C. Choksi (Reader in Sanskrit, Gujarat University, Ahmedabad), a young scholar as his co-traveller. He had brought from south such copies of some manuscripts of the Bhagavata-Mahapurana that were written in Telugu, Tamil and Grantha scritps. Thus he has been associated with the task beginning with collection of the manuscripts to its critical text editing, i.e. from the task A to Z. He has also performed the final task of writing an "Epilogue" as well. It may be noted that this task of editing of the Bhāgavata-purāṇa could be taken as the crest-jewel of all the works that he has penned.

4

Actually in the task of editing the Bhāgavata-purāṇa three main editors were involved, viz. Shri K.K.Shastri, Dr. H.G.Shastri and Dr. Bharatiben Shelat. They accepted the editing of four 'Skandhas' each. Shri K.K. Shastri is associated with 'Skandhas IX to XII.

When a scholar attempts a critical edition of a given Sanskrit works, naturally the critical edition of the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata would stay as role models before him and

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so also the three, highly discussed procedures of critical editing will remain before him. These three procedures are-

(i) The Oldest manuscript school,

(ii) Majority of the (available) manuscript school, and

(iii) The Best manuscript school.

Following anyone of these approaches scholars all over India are attempting text-criticism. All editors individually have justifiction for their own choice of method.

We may first begin with the examination of the selection of any one procedure here, so that we can appreciate Shri K.K. Shastri's effort in this direction.

It is possible that from a vast collection of manuscripts of a single work, some may be partly finished, i.e. incomplete, others may be broken at places (through termite-bite etc.) and still others may be partly legible. So, from among such stuff, the royal road is to select a manuscript which is written in readable hand and which is complete. This may be taken as the best or "uttama" manuscript. But to follow this procedure of "Best manuscript school" would prove to be hazardous for a given editor. For, if we attempt a critical edition of the Bhāgavata-Mahapurāṇa on the strenth of such a readable manuscript having a number of pictures also, then it is possible that such a script is more "modern" i.e. later in writing. By selecting such a manuscript, we may be ignoring a tradition of older readings. If we take such nicely readable manuscript as the "Best manuscript", our selection may prove to be wrong ! For, it is not necessary that such "Best" manuscripts carry best and older readings ! Thus it is not possible to arrive at the critical text on the basic of the so-called "Best manuscript."

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5

Now, if we follow the path of "Majority of the available manuscripts school" the approach seems to be justified at the first glance, for when we find common reading in a number of manuscripts available in various parts of India, it is bound to appeal to our critical approach as the manuscripts are written in different scripts also. It is possible that, a common reading in these could be original. Now, when at a given place, we come across a number of variants in manuscripts collected from various places, then it becomes pertinent to think as to which reading is more to the point considering the context both earlier and later portions. Two editors, viz. Dr. H.G. Shastri and Dr. Mrs. Bharatiben Shelat have preferred this procedure of ascentaining the original reading.

But the method of "Oldest manuscript school" accepted by Shri K.K. Shastriji deserves better attention on account of the fact that in the critical editing of the Bhāgavata-Mahāpurāṇa out of the 36 manuscripts collected by the B. J. Institute of Learning & Research, no different recensions are detected.

(1) Dr. H. G. Shastri writes in the introduction of the portion containing skandhas VII-IX that-

"A comparative study of the select MSS indicated that unlike the MSS of the Great Epics the MSS of the Bhāgavata-Mahāpurāṇa contain no recension. They can be classified only into versions"[2]

(2) Similarly, Shri K.K. Shastriji in his introduction to Xth Skandha observes:

"Unlike *MBH* and *R* the *BGP* has only Versions and not Recensions."[3]

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Normally in case of the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata when "Majority of Manuscript school"-procedure is applied in determing the text, scholars already think before hand that in case of different recensions of the Northern or Southern India, which one is more dependable (e.g. in case of the Rāmāyaṇa, in preparing the critical edition, the southern version with archaic readings is more respected and in case of the Mahābhāraṭa the *laghu-pāṭha* of the northern recension is more respected by editors. So, in such texts, when different readings are located, first of all attention is paid as to which recension contains which reading. Then out of two readings which one is more in harmony with the context both earlier and later. But in case of the Bhāgavata-Mahāpurāṇa all the three editors have catagorically declared that after preparing the collation-sheets from the available manuscripts, no different recensions are detected. So, when a certain reading is selected as "most appropriate", an element of subjectivity has a chance to walk in !

So, in case of variants available in such a *'prokta'* text as the Bhāgavata-Mahāpurāṇa, it is safer to resort to an older manuscript procedure than to take a comparative contextual approach.

In such a vast country as India, if in different parts of it we come across a common reading in some portion of the Bhāgavata-Mahāpurāṇa text, the credit should go to the narrators who spread the gospel of the Bhāgavata purāṇa. And in such cases to choose a reading in the critical text, if the oldest manuscript procedure is applied it is not against reason. On the contrary it speaks volumes of the critical accumen of Shri K.K. Shastreeji.

It is very clear that the manuscript from the Sampurnananda Sanskrit Vishva-vidyalaya, Varanasi, is accepted as the oldest manuscript from the 36 manuscripts made available

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to the B.J. Institute of Learning & Research, Ahmedabad.[4] Again, the reading in that manuscript has the support of Shri Vallabhacarya. Hence, Shri K.K. Shastriji has chosen to follow that manuscript and that reading. We should not commit the blunder in thinking that as Shri K.K. Shastriji is a "puṣṭi-mārgin" he has favoured this manuscript following the Vallabha-tradition. The fact is that in the absence of versions more than one, all manuscripts carry, regional changes to an extent and so one has to be objective in one's approach. This objectivity comes up, by following the oldest manuscript school method. If this objectivity by chance is backed by Shri Vallabha's tradition the thing becomes all the more merrier. So, whatever is said of Shri K. K. Shastriji as an editor of the Bhāgavata-Mahāpurāṇa is less. Actually his task has enhanced the credibility and respect of scholarship in Gujarat. This observation is only a statement of fact and involves no exaggeration.

Foot Notes

* *The* Bhagavafa, Vol. Ill, Sk. IX, Vol. IV, Part I *&* Pub. by B.J. Institute, 1998, 1999, first edi. II, Sks. X-XI1 (cri. ed. by) Prof. Dr. K. K. Shastri critical edition of Srimad Bhāgavata-Mahāpurāṇa in the year 1996 A.D.

१. भाष्यकारादिभिर्व्याख्यातान् संप्रतितनपुस्तकेषु च स्थितान् पाठान् श्लोकांश्च गुणोपसंहारन्यायेन एकीकृत्य व्याख्याते ॥ महाभारतस्य उद्योगपर्वणि - अ०४२ नीलकण्ठः, (मुंबई आवृत्तिः)

2. The Bhāgavata : *Critical Edition,* Vol. Ill, (preface : page XXIII); Pub. B.J. Institute, of Learning & Research, Ahmedabad.1998.

3. The Bhāgavata : *Critical Edition,* Vol. IV, *Ibid.,* p. XIV.

4. The collated MSS clearly show that there are three versions,

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viz. Northern, Composite of Devanāgarī and Southern. One thing is notable that Varanasi Devanāgarī MS (Di) differs even with other Devanāgarī MSS. It can be said that Di MS is quite independent and has its own Version. We have not found such a thing in MBH and R MSS. In the case of the BGP it is a strange thing that, excluding Di MS, all other three versions have common readings in several places.

- *The Bhāgavata : Critical Edition,* Vol. IV part 1 (preface page No. XX), *Ibid.*

* Published in the Commemoration Volume of Padma-Shree Shataya Ke.Ka.Shastriji, B.S. Institute of Learning & Research, Ahmedabad-2005, (pp.32-35)

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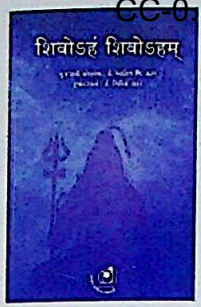

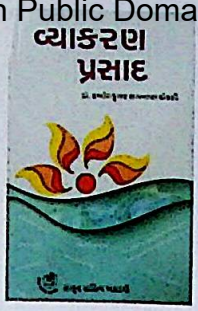

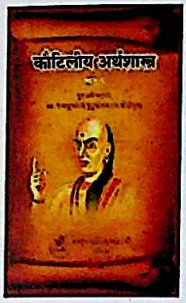

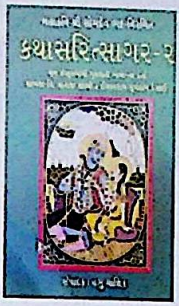

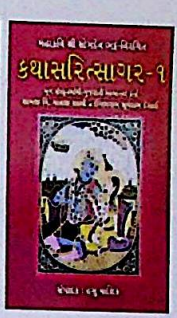

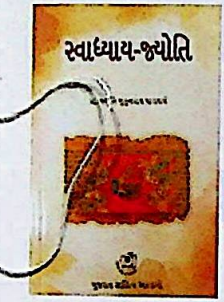

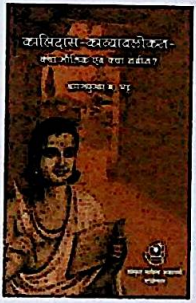

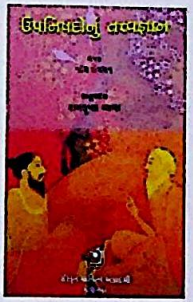

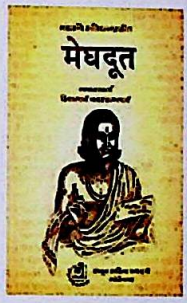

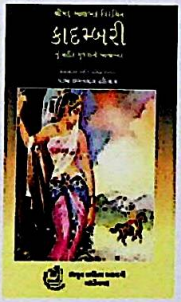

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